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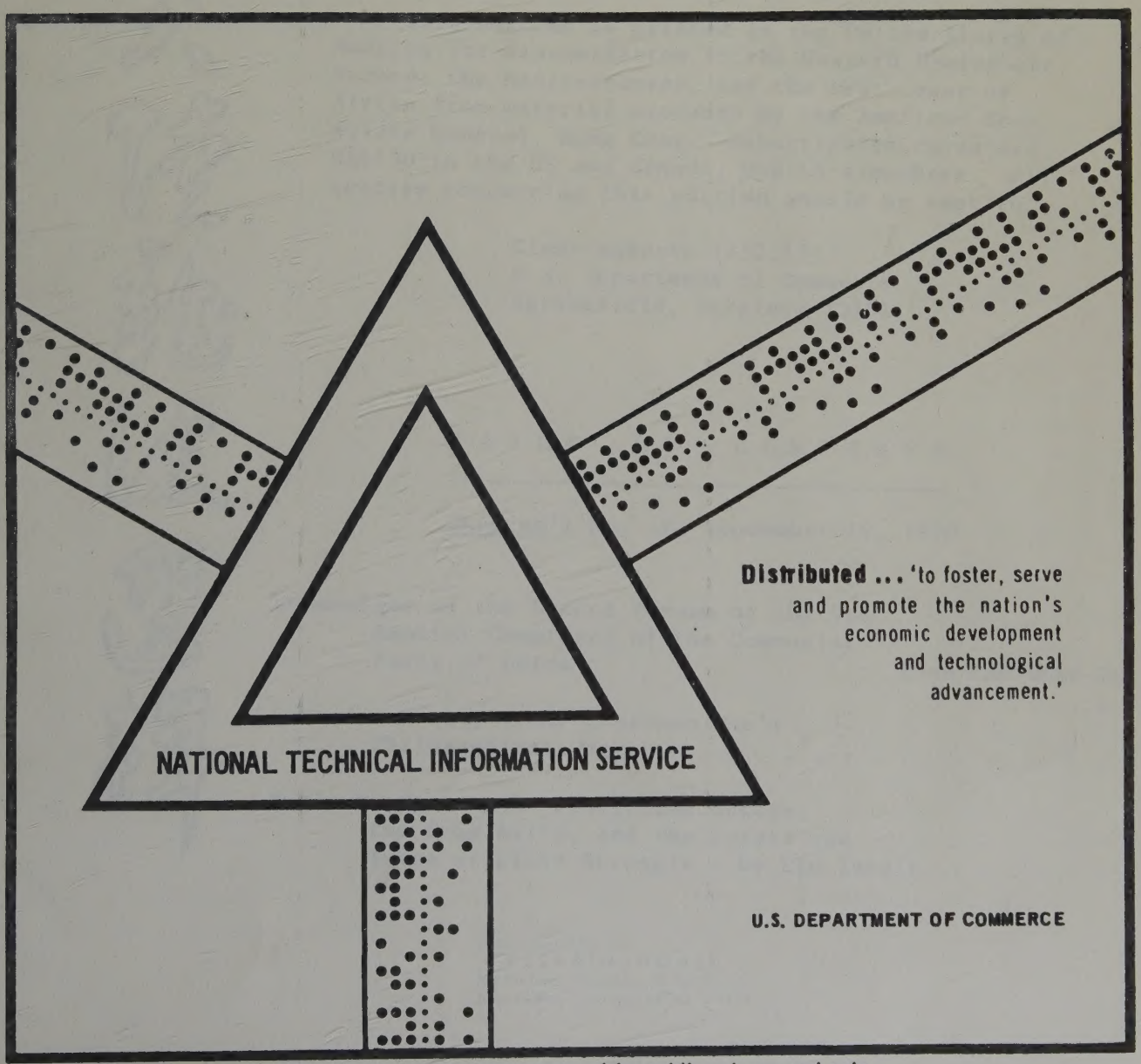
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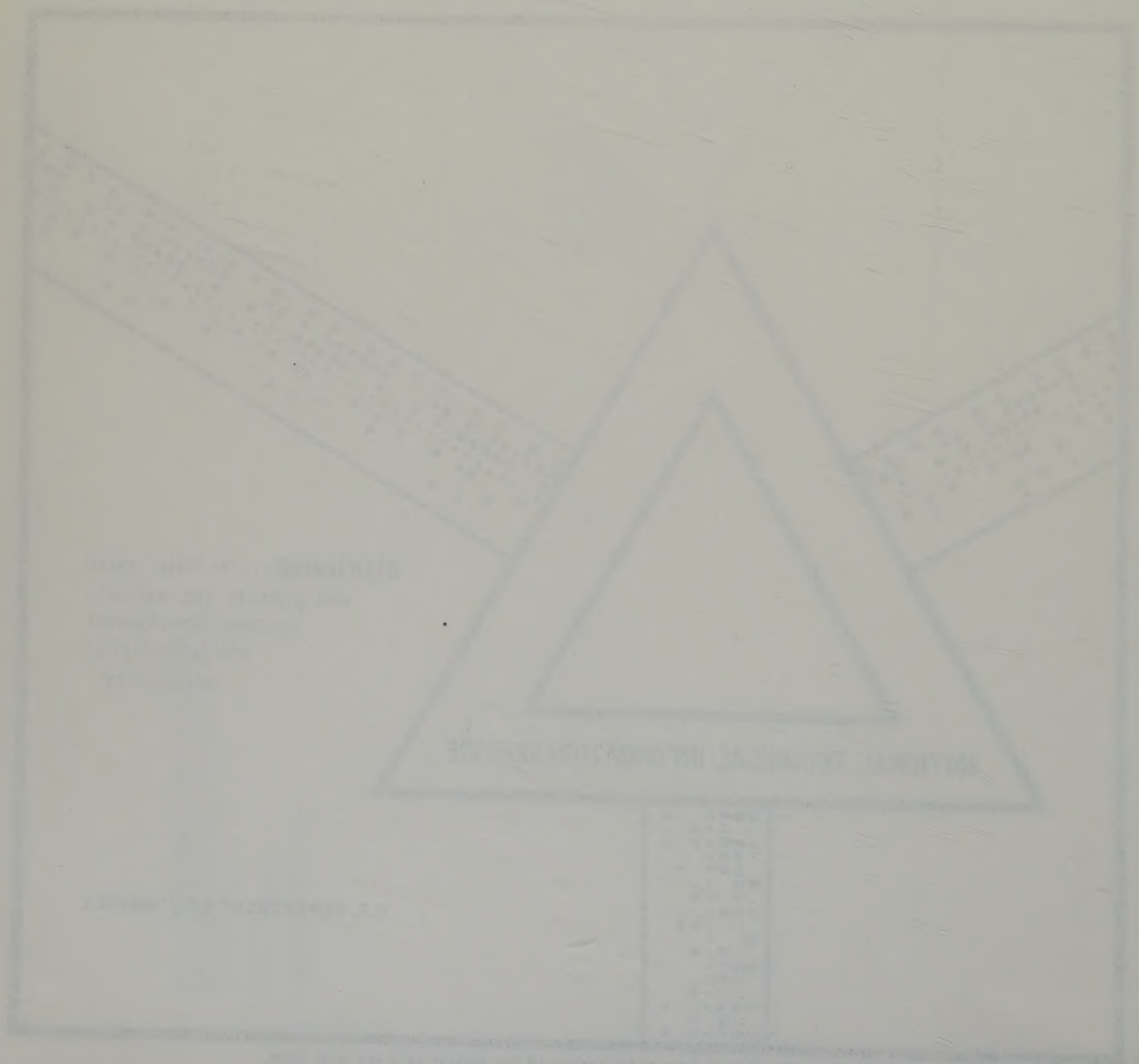

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Unless otherwise indicated, these materials are full translations of articles appearing in Chinese Communist periodicals.

Conscientiously Study Chairman Mao's Philosophical Works

- Short Commentary -

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 10, September 19, 1970)

The communique of the 2nd plenum of the 9th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China points out: "The entire Party must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's philosophical works, promote dialectic materialism and historic materialism, and oppose idealism and metaphysics." This call will surely push forward the in-depth development of the mass movement of flexible study and application of Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking.

The Party Constitution points out: "The Communist Party of China takes Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought as the theoretical basis guiding our thinking." Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking is dialectic materialism and historic materialism, is the scientific world outlook and methodology of the proletarian revolution, is the theoretical basis of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and his series of guidelines and policies, and is our sharp weapon for winning a new victory for our three great revolutionary movements--the class struggle, the struggle for production and the scientific experiment.

In the current issue is carried a group of articles on philosophy, explaining once more the guiding role which conscientious study of Chairman Mao's philosophical works can play in the three great revolutionary movements.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Let philosophy be liberated from the classrooms and books of the philosophers and turned into a sharp weapon in the hands of the masses." This instruction of Chairman Mao's teaches us that we must closely integrate ourselves with the practice of the three great movements--the class struggle, the struggle for production and the scientific experiment, and take dialectic materialism and historic materialism as a powerful weapon of the masses of the people with which to transform the objective world and the subjective world and with which to criticize revisionism and all ways of thinking contrary to Marxism. At a time like this when the struggle-criticism-transformation movement started in the great proletarian cultural revolution is gaining in depth, it is utterly important to study in earnest Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophical works such as "On Practice," "On Contradiction," "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," "Speech at the National Propaganda Work Conference of the Communist Party of China," "Where Does Man's Correct Thinking Come From?" and others, so as to remold our thinking, guide our action, all the more self-consciously implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies, and all the more penetratingly criticize renegade, traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and his ideological basis. The Party's leading cadres in particular, who shoulder the herculean task of leading the Party members and the broad

masses of the revolutionaries in carrying out socialist revolution and socialist construction, must all the more self-consciously study Chairman Mao's philosophical works, dialectic materialism and historic materialism, so in the practice of revolution they can in time see and criticize all the erroneous trends and incorrect thinking which run counter to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line,so they can firmly follow the correct political direction, persist in the correct method and style of work which have all along been promoted by Chairman Mao, and they can, on the foundation of the Mao Tsetung thought and principle, strengthen their unity, raise their consciousness, sum up their experience, do their jobs well, and continuously march onward.

The first thing in studying Chairman Mao's philosophical works is to use them to guide the class struggle, to carry forward the revolutionary mass criticism, to remold the world outlook, to further consolidate and bolster the proletarian dictatorship, and thus to spur on all tasks. Chairman Mao points out: "Class struggle in all forms has a significant impact on the development of man's knowledge." ("On Practice") "In class struggle, some class emerges victorious and some class vanishes. This is history. This is the history of civilization for several thousand years. Interpretation of history with this viewpoint means historic materialism and taking an opposite stand to this viewpoint means historicl idealism." ("Discard Illusions, Prepare for Struggle") Adherence to historic materialism requires a class analysis to be conducted of contradictions manifested in social phenomenon and man's thinking. Only when one grasps the principle of struggles between the two classes, the two lines and the two roads, analyze the trend and characteristics of class struggle, grasp the law of development of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, thoroughly understand and carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and series of guidelines and policies, liquidate the remnant poison of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, criticize the bourgeois world outlook and make a success of revolutionization of thinking, can one hold the initiative of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and can one more smoothly solve the problems found in production struggle, scientific experiments and all other tasks.

The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, with deep proletarian class feelings toward our great leader Chairman Mao, study and apply well his philosophical works and set us an example. In the mass movement of flexible study and application of his philosophical thinking, they have furnished us many good experiences, such as:

1. Proceeding from realities and in close integration with the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, production struggle and scientific experiment, as well as the revolutionary mass criticism, one should use dialectic materialism and historic materialism to wipe out the poison left by Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in all fields, and study and apply Chairman Mao's philosophical works in the course of struggle.

2. To concentrate on Chairman Mao's several philosophical works, adhere to the principle of being "fewer but better," study viewpoints expressed in problems met in the three great revolutionary movements, grasp the basic viewpoints particularly,and repeatedly study and apply them, resolve one or two practical problems at a time, and proceed from surface to depth, from being unsystematic to systematic.

3. To integrate the study of philosophy with the study of the "three constantly read articles," to integrate the fight against ego and criticism of revisionism with the criticism of idealism and metaphysics, and to make efforts in the remolding of world outlook. In conducting the study, one must get at one's own thinking, find out the bourgeois world outlook manifest in oneself, and use proletarian "public spiritedness" to overcome bourgeois "egoism" and dialectic materialism and historic materialism to rid one's mind of idealism and metaphysical viewpoint.

4. To integrate the study of Chairman Mao's philosophical works with investigation and research, summation of experience and implementation of policies, thereby raising our self-consciousness of continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and thus minimizing blindness.

5. The leadership to conscientiously take the lead in the study, practically nurture a group of backbone forces, and select well the models to lead all.

6. To set up study-philosophy teams and conduct propagation and application meetings for the exchange of experiences, mutual enlightenment, mutual promotion and common advancement.

On the various fronts where the mass movement of studying philosophy has been unfolded earlier, the more successful units have all gained some experience. In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, such experience has been further raised and more widely popularized, and we must attach importance to it. We must be good at adopting, from experiences created by the masses, some leadership and study methods suitable to the concrete conditions of each department and each unit. At the moment, it is particularly important to sum up the experiences gained in leading the cadres in making successful studies of philosophy.

A great new high tide is currently rising for socialist revolution and socialist construction. The publication of the "communique" of the 2nd plenum of the Party's 9th Central Committee has further aroused the revolutionary activism and creativeness of the broad masses of the people. The situation as it develops demands us to make further efforts at making flexible study and flexible application of the Mao Tsetung thought and Chairman Mao's philosophical works, to self-consciously remold our world outlook with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought, in order to better fulfill the various tasks set forth in the "communique." Serious study of Chairman Mao's philosophical works by the entire Party and the people of the whole nation will definitely play a very great role in bringing about a new upsurge of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

* * *

Fully Recognize the Protracted Nature, the Complexity, and the Twists and Turns of Class Struggle

by

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Link'ou Hsien, Heilungkiang

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 10, Sept. 19, 1970)

The philosophy of the proletariat is one of struggle. Through study of Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking in the course of class struggle I have deepened my knowledge of the protracted nature, the complexity and the twists and turns of class struggle at the historical stage of socialism, promoted my own ideological revolutionization and led the masses in striking fierce blows at the class enemy. I deeply realize that if I want to walk quickly on the road of continuous revolution I must learn to apply dialectical materialism and historical materialism.

Upon establishment of the brigade revolutionary committee I was pushed by the poor and lower-middle peasants to the leading post. For a time when I found the class enemy was struck down like a frost-bitten onion I thought "it was almost enough" and I relaxed struggle against the enemy. In less than a month, however, the class enemy became active and stirred up an evil wind--reversing the verdicts.

These circumstances cooled down my hot head. I conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's great theory of classes, class contradiction and class struggle. Dwelling on the class struggle at the historical stage of socialism, Chairman Mao speaks of "quite long" and "protracted." That is to say, class struggle will run through the entire historical period of socialism. If one regards the "protracted" class struggle as a "short-term" one, one is likely to "take easy" and "rest for a while" with the result that one will relax the struggle against the enemy and find oneself in a position of passivity. Having raised our understanding, our brigade revolutionary committee led the masses in renewing fierce attacks on the class enemy and crushed his attempt to reverse the verdicts.

With a view to raising commune members' consciousness of class struggle and two-line struggle, we compiled, in accord with Chairman Mao's instruction--"Historical experience merits attention"--the important events of struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines that had taken place in T'uch'engtzu since the founding of the Republic, and held an exhibition of these events. This exhibition hit the vital part of the class enemy, who jumped up to strike back. In these circumstances, should we resolutely struggle in the interest of revolution or fall back for the sake of our personal interests? Chairman Mao teaches us: "Thoroughgoing materialists have nothing to fear." ("Speech at the CCP National Conference on Propaganda Work") "Thousands upon thousands of martyrs have heroically laid down their lives for the people; let us hold the banner

high and march along the path crimson with their blood!" ("On Coalition Government") As soon as I thought of these great teachings by Chairman Mao I gained an inexhaustible strength to trample a hill of knives under foot and put to sea of fire in the interest of revolution. I thought to myself: the more the class enemy opposes us the more it shows we are doing the right thing. To conduct class struggle one will have to rid oneself of selfish and impure ideas, defy hardship and death and dare to stand on the foremost front in the storms. If one lets "self interest" clog one's mind, clings to life and fears death, one will become wearisome and evasive in the course of protracted class struggle and, at the crucial moment, we will even surrender to the enemy and turn apostates. If so, one will look forward to shortening the period of class struggle even if one knows that the class struggle is bound to be a protracted one. If one thinks in terms of "shortened class struggle" one will relax one's efforts, refrain from taking the initiative in attacking the enemy, and weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In this world, things are complicated and are decided by many factors. We should look at problems from different aspects, not from just one." ("On Chungking Negotiations") "Don't be so bookish as to take an over-simplified view of the complicated class struggle." (Comment on "Materials on Hu Feng's Counter-revolutionary Clique") With the proletariat exercising dictatorship we wield power, compelling the class enemy to change his tactics and carry on counter-revolutionary activities in various forms. To identify this complexity, see through the tricks of the class enemy and grasp the new features of class struggle--such is the basic requirement to be met in order to continue the revolution.

One winter an evil wind of reckless felling of trees was stirred up in our brigade. At that time the contradictions between the enemy and us and those among the people were intermingled. The class enemy seemed to be law-abiding. On the other hand, some commune members made mistakes. For a time it was difficult to distinguish the true from the false.

As a common saying goes, "without wind there can be no wave." Surely some class enemies were playing tricks. But who were those playing "tricks"?

With this specific problem in mind I studied over and over Chairman Mao's great theory of classes, class contradiction and class struggle and his brilliant philosophic thinking. I came to realize that the enemy may change his tricks but among the changes is something that does not change. That is, for all the changes they make they will not change their plot to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat. "Since they will counter revolution, it will be impossible for them to conceal the truth thoroughly." (Preface to "Materials on Hu Feng's Counter-revolutionary Clique") As long as we rouse the masses with the aid of the Marxist-Leninist "telescope and microscope" we shall be able to see the substance through the phenomenon and distinguish the two types of contradictions different in character in the course of protracted class struggle.

We began by roundly repudiating renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of dying out of class struggle," reviewing the history of class struggle at our village, and enhancing the concept of class struggle in the minds of commune members. Thereafter, we roused the masses to size up the strange phenomenon in our brigade by means of class analysis. Being clear-sighted the poor and lower-middle peasants soon ferreted out a fellow who was most active in secretly agitating for felling of trees but was outwardly most strongly "opposed" to felling of trees. "The analytical method is dialectical." ("Speech at the CCP National Conference on Propaganda Work") I made a concrete analysis of this fellow. I recalled that on the day the evil wind was stirred up this fellow came to me several times and told me: "All those who recklessly fell trees should be subjected to struggle." Further he said: "Some members of the Party branch are too soft in dealing with this matter." At that time I was not conscious of the evil intention behind these words, and I felt the fellow was quite "revolutionary." But an old poor peasant told me: "Someone is playing a trick in this matter of felling trees without authority. If the lid is not removed the enemy will be shielded and the masses hoodwinked. We must beat off the enemy's attack before we can beat off this evil wind." Chairman Mao teaches us: "There can be no differentiation without contrasts. There can be no development without differentiation and struggle." ("Speech at the CCP National Conference on Propaganda Work") One thing can be interpreted in two different ways and with different feelings. Having made a comparison I was more convinced that the fellow was the culprit. He stirred up wind secretly and opposed it openly. His intention was to cover up counter-revolution with false "revolution." He wanted to attack the masses and to attack a "big group" in order to protect "a handful." He destroyed State resources and attacked the revolutionary masses in a vain attempt to bring about the downfall of the Party branch. He was so vicious.

Whether this understanding was correct or not had to be tested and proved by practice. On the one hand, our Party branch roused the masses to watch changes in his words and deeds. On the other, we made a comprehensive and historical analysis of this man and sent a man to his native town to check up his history. Investigations proved him to be a counter-revolutionary. We roused the masses to struggle against him.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "What is perceived cannot at once be comprehended and only what is comprehended can be more deeply perceived." ("On Practice") The more clearly we know the complexity of class struggle the more clear-sighted and alert we become in class struggle. In the spring this year a hidden class enemy instigated the educated youths sent to the countryside to anarchism. Soon we roused the educated youths to expose the counter-revolutionary who waved a signboard of "revolution."

It seems to me that the complexity of class struggle is not something to be feared and that what is to be feared is our simplicity and weak concept of class struggle. As long as we study and apply Chairman Mao's great theory of classes, class contradiction and class struggle and his brilliant philosophic thinking in a living way, constantly enhance our concept of class struggle and improve our ability of class struggle, we

shall be able to keep our heads sober and strike steady, accurate and fierce blows at the enemy.

The class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat is not only protracted and complicated but also tortuous. It moves forward in a wave-like manner, rising at one time and falling at the other. Only when we fully know the twists and turns of class struggle can we foresee the trend of class struggle and retain the initiative in struggle. It is through study of Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking in the course of class struggle that I have deepened my understanding bit by bit.

After the Party consolidation and building our Party branch firmly grasped the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and led the masses in striking fierce blows at the class enemy. The class enemy was given such a blow that they could not hit back. "Calm" seemed to prevail in our brigade. At the same time a member of our Party branch expressed his opinion in these terms: "From now on the enemy will be unable to stir up a big wave, and our boat will not capsize even if we set our hands free." Was this opinion correct? We studied Chairman Mao's great teaching: "So far as any concrete thing is concerned, the unity of opposites is conditional, temporary, and transitional; consequently, it is relative while the struggle of opposites is absolute." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People") Viewed from the one-divides-into-two materialistic dialectics, "calm" contains "commotion." When we say it is "calm" we mean that after beating off enemy attack we compel them to change from attack to defense and that the class struggle is temporarily "at a low tide" and is relatively "calm." When we say it is "not calm" we mean that the nature of the reactionary class will not change and they will not withdraw from the stage of history of their own accord and that when an opportunity presents itself they will frantically fall upon us. Outwardly it is "calm" but actually the class enemy is playing tricks and is prepared to "spread" his evil influence. Hence, we say the "calm" is relative and the struggle is absolute. When the class struggle is at the "low tide" it is going to reach a "high tide." We all agreed that "calm," "commotion," "high tide" and "low tide" are manifestations of the twists and turns of class struggle. When the class struggle is at the "low tide" ideologically we should seek no "calm" and should guard against the rightist deviation; when the class struggle is at the "high tide" ideologically we should be dispassionate and guard against the "Leftist" deviations.

With our minds armed with Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophic thinking, the more the leading body and the masses commended us for the "calm" prevailing in our brigade after the Party consolidation and building, the more we guarded against arrogance and rashness. No matter how the class enemy behaved, we never relaxed our vigilance. The more we busied ourselves with production the more we organized the masses to study and apply Mao Tsetung thought in a living way and persevered in mass criticism and repudiation.

The twists and turns of class struggle show that on every front the struggle is "tortuous," not "straight", and cannot be settled at one

stroke and that it will go through many reversals. These reversals are a manifestation of the protracted nature of class struggle as well as a manifestation of the complexity of class struggle. This is the case with the class struggle in our brigade. Take the struggle against economism for example. We waged a struggle to put down counter-revolutionary economism. But after a few days it emerged in a new form under new circumstances. This made it necessary to resume the struggle. The idea of "achieving success at one stroke" and "traversing a straight road" is, in substance, metaphysics which negates contradiction and struggle, and is utterly wrong. Pending the elimination of classes, class struggle will not stop. One black line is eliminated only to see a new black line appear; the old counter-revolutionaries are suppressed only to see new counter-revolutionaries emerge. Nevertheless, that the proletariat will triumph and the exploiting classes will be defeated is the general trend of history, a trend that will never change.

* * *

Study and Apply in the Course of Struggle

by

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(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 10, Sept. 19, 1970)

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches: "We want gradually to disseminate dialectics and ask everyone gradually to learn the use of the scientific dialectical method." ("Speech at the CCP National Conference on Propaganda Work") We will do as Chairman Mao says. Following Chairman Mao's teaching I began to study philosophy in 1957. Over the past ten years and more I have studied Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophic writings--"On Practice," "On Contradiction," "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People," and "Where Do Man's Correct Ideas Come from?" And I applied what I had learned. Gradually I learned the use of Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking and materialistic dialectics--"one dividing into two"--to analyze problems, remold my thought, unite my comrades and attack the enemy. Practice has made me deeply realize that Chairman Mao's philosophic writings are priceless treasures indispensable to revolutionaries and that having studied them one will become clear-sighted and politically red and make revolution to the end without vacillation.

When I began my study of philosophy I heard people say that philosophy is abstruse and beyond the reach of ordinary people and can only be learned by high-ranking cadres and people with culture. There were those who poured cold water, saying: "Rustics who think in terms of kaoliang flower are only good at hoeing. It would be a farce if they study philosophy." I ignored these words and persevered in my study! My cultural level being low, I ran into many difficulties in the course of my study. Whenever I encountered difficulties I would call to my mind the fact that Chairman Mao and Mao Tsetung thought have made us laboring people gain emancipation and become masters of our own destiny. Today we shoulder the heavy burden of Chinese revolution and world revolution. We study philosophy for the purpose of mastering dialectics and following Chairman Mao in making revolution. Living study and application of Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking is dictated by the need of struggle-criticism-transformation and the need of "grasp revolution, stimulate production and promote work and preparedness against war." In a word, we study philosophy for the purpose of wielding and applying power effectively and insuring that the world won by the proletariat will never change its color. When I thought of this I gained strength and persevered in my study of philosophy. When I began my study of philosophy I found dialectics everywhere and nothing mysterious in philosophy.

Chairman Mao's philosophic works are written for us workers, peasants and soldiers, and every word written therein is what is in our hearts. If we cannot study them, who can? Philosophic truths come from practice. We workers, peasants and soldiers are involved everyday in the three great revolutionary movements and, as long as we integrate study with realities and ideas, we can know and apply philosophy. Take the terms "contradiction," "practice" and

"knowledge" for example. Without practice, the more you study the more muddled your thinking will become. Linking up with realities and ideas, the more you study the more clearly you can understand. Such is actually the case. One year we popularized rational close-planting; the first and second teams were convinced of close-planting but the deputy head and some members of the third team were not convinced of it. This in itself is a problem and a contradiction. How to deal with this contradiction? We should analyze it and find ways of resolving it. Some people are not convinced. It shows that they do not accept the method of close planting. You cannot force them to accept it. You can only let them see it with their own eyes, do it and solve the problem in the light of facts. With this understanding we together with them tended experimental plot and showed them round on the experimental kaoliang plot of the first team and the experimental maize plot of the second team. Even then they still disagreed with us. But when they found that per mow yield of kaoliang reached more than 700 catties and that of maize more than 600 catties, they could not but agree with us. As an advanced experience rational close-planting was soon popularized in the whole brigade. To be sure, close-planting must be made rational and may not be divorced from reality.

These years I have pondered over this question: the content of philosophic study, the attitude towards it and the method of study appear to be trifles but actually they are important things in the struggle between the two lines. The renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and his agent Yang Hsien-chen in philosophic circles despised us workers, peasants and soldiers for knowing nothing about philosophy, saying that what we learned "was not philosophy." This is sheer nonsense. We study Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking which is true philosophy of the proletariat. Their revisionist theories are bourgeois reactionary philosophy. Yang Hsien-chen advocated recitation of lifeless dogmas in a vain attempt to disrupt our workers, peasants and soldiers' movement for living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought. We will not let ourselves be deceived!

My experience is that the key to fruitful study of philosophy lies in one's stand and feelings. As long as we maintain the firm stand of the proletariat, have deep proletarian feelings of boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao, go into the thick of the three great revolutionary movements and maintain close ties with the masses, we can learn philosophy and apply it in a living way.

In studying philosophy we must seize upon the "key link" of class struggle, closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan and integrate study with the current situations. At present, imperialism and social-imperialism are colluding and collaborating with each other in a vain attempt to launch a war of aggression against our fatherland. We should resolutely implement Chairman Mao's great instruction--"Heighten vigilance and defend the fatherland"--be prepared against war and be ready to wipe out the enemy who dares to invade our country. At the same time we must take account of the new trend of class struggle at home. Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "Imperialists and the reactionaries at home will not take their defeat lying down, and they will wage their last-ditch struggle." Why do some people,

whose eyes are sometimes blinded by the false impressions created by the class enemy, lose sight of the reactionary nature of the enemy and believe the enemy is law-abiding? Because in their minds they fail to grasp the "key link" of class struggle and they know nothing about materialistic dialectics. Once, on return from a locality after attending a meeting, I heard that some bad characters in the brigade were engaged in some activity. Yet some of our comrades found nothing wrong. The living fact of class struggle was the best lesson in philosophic studies. In addition to taking measures for strengthening mass dictatorship over these bad characters, we seized upon this event, conducted study and held discussion relevant to the reality of class struggle. It was brought home to all that the class enemy will remain unchanged amid some changes and will show some change when remaining unchanged in some ways. They will change their counter-revolutionary tactic but not their reactionary nature, nor their ambition to restore capitalism. Their unchanged reactionary nature determines change in their tactics. They will change their tactics for the purpose of covering up their unchanged reactionary nature. In this way, we studied and applied in the course of struggle. The more we studied the more we got clear-minded. The more we applied the more strength we gained. All of us said cheerfully: "Having studied Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking we can see through the enemy, whatever his tactics and whatever his face."

Take collective productive labor for further example. These years I have borne in mind Chairman Mao's great teaching: "It is imperative to persevere in the system of cadre participation in collective productive labor." I regularly remind myself: "No matter how busy and old you are, and no matter how high your position is, the calli grown on your hands and the kaoliang flower falling on your head may not decrease." Labor is a red thread linking up the hearts of the cadres and the masses. If the red thread is broken, the ideology will change. If the red thread is lost, the political power will be lost. Why? Here is a philosophic truth. "Performing labor" means diligence and "not performing labor" means laziness. Diligence and laziness are opposites. The diligent is not lazy and the lazy is not diligent. If one is diligent, one's hands will not be separated from labor, one's body will not be separated from the masses and one's heart will not be separated from the political power. If one is lazy, one's hands and feet will get lazy and one will show a lazy style in work, change one's thought and throw away the political power. How could a representative of the masses represent the masses if he shuns labor, divorces himself from the masses and becomes an overlord? The masses will not have a representative of this type. These years, particularly since the "9th Congress" of the Party, I have borne in mind Chairman Mao's great teaching--"See that they work without divorcing themselves from the masses and production." I am more strict with myself in the matter of labor. Sometimes when I returned from a meeting before the time was up to stop work, I always found some work to do in the field. Labor is our duty. It is not a bad thing to do some work to shake you up. The sweat will wash away the bourgeois dust.

Carrying out the mass line and conducting criticism and self-criticism is a fine tradition of our Party. We cadres must listen to the views of the masses with an open mind. We should listen to all views, favorable and unfavorable, positive and negative. We should know how to draw useful

lessons from these views. Once while I and some commune members were leveling ground we talked about pig-raising and manure accumulating. Someone said this: "Speaking of pig-raising, our brigade has visited other localities and learned a lot things. But unfortunately we have been unable to carry it out. All this is due to backward leadership." On hearing this opinion I called to my mind Chairman Mao's great teaching that "the analytical method is dialectical," and conscientiously analyzed the problem. In my opinion, the criticism was right. The reason why no concrete measures were taken these years to raise pigs and accumulate manure was because cadres failed to grasp the work seriously. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Be good at discovering the enthusiasm of the masses." From the mass criticism I found the enthusiasm of the masses for raising pigs in the interest of revolution. Immediately I organized cadres to run a study course. After repeated study and discussion and summing-up of lessons of experience, we solved the ideological problem and unified our understanding. In recent months our brigade has built three more pig farms and raised more than 300 pigs.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line our Wukung brigade has scored some achievements in revolution and production these years. In such circumstances, some people became self-complacent. In order to continue the revolution better our brigade's leading group conducted an open-door rectification campaign and I took the lead in finding the gap. Others followed suit. Spirit was transformed into matter. The raising of thinking and awakening gave an impetus to the development of production. Take planting reform for example. This year we have changed the old method of planting, introduced inter-planting and replanting of cotton and wheat to the fallow land that needs to be plowed under in the spring. We changed cropping into double-cropping or triple-cropping.

Leading cadres should take the lead in studying Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking. Only by taking the lead in study and application can they set the whole leading group and the masses in motion. After the "9th Congress" of the Party, in accord with Chairman Mao's great teaching--"Be good at becoming a 'squad' leader"--I attended each discussion and application meeting and took the lead in discussion and application in the course of organizing the living study and application of Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking. Members of the brigade Party branch and the revolutionary committee armed their minds with Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking and used it to move the work forward. Both the method of thinking and the method of work have greatly improved.

At present, study and application of philosophy has become a custom in our brigade. Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophic thinking has become a powerful ideological weapon for the three great revolutionary movements--class struggle, production struggle and scientific experiment. We are determined to make better use of this sharp weapon to seize still greater victories at the new hightide of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

* * *

Use the Viewpoint of "One Dividing into Two" To Make Re-Education of the Intellectual Youth a Success

by

the Revolutionary Committee of the Hsiaokuanyi Brigade, Ansai Hsien, Shensi

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 10, Sept. 19, 1970)

There are in the Hsiaokuanyi Brigade a total of 27 educated youth from Peking. By way of creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking of "one dividing into two" and of going all-out to deal with, educate, train and employ them, we have obtained very good results in the course of giving them re-education. At present, twelve of them have been appraised as activists in the study of Chairman Mao's works in the commune, three have joined the Communist Youth League, and two of them have joined the Chinese Communist Party. The educated youth have played a positive role in the three great revolutionary movement of the countryside.

After the educated youth came to join and settle down in the Hsiaokuanyi Brigade, the overwhelming majority of the poor and lower-middle peasants and cadres regarded them as an important force for building a socialist new countryside, and warmly and patiently proceeded to re-educate them. However, because some educated youth thought that "the place with big mountains and deep valleys has no future" and dreaded hardship and fatigue, a few of the cadres and the masses felt that the educated youth were difficult to handle. This gave rise to a passive feeling, and for a time the educated youth were allowed to take their own course.

After the revolutionary committee of the brigade discovered this question, it organized the poor and lower-middle peasants, cadres and educated youth of the various production teams to run study courses in Mao Tsetung thought. Chairman Mao's great teaching--"the majority or the vast majority of the students trained in the old schools and colleges can integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and some have made inventions or innovations; they must, however, be re-educated by the workers, peasants and soldiers under the guidance of the correct line and thoroughly change their old ideology"--was conscientiously studied, and the materialistic dialectics of one dividing into two was used to make an all-round analysis of the educated youth, thus giving everybody a great education.

For example, land reclamation was not allowed to be carried out at random in the place for the sake of water and soil conservation. One day, certain individual cadres of the Chaochiakou Production Team privately authorized the commune members to reclaim land without obtaining the consent of the higher level. Cherishing a profound proletarian feeling for Chairman Mao, an educated youth boycotted this wrong way of doing things. Some people said: "This is the business of the team cadres. Aren't you

afraid that they will make things difficult for you?" He firmly replied: "for the sake of defending Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, I have nothing to fear!"

By way of study and analysis of the educated youth, everybody came to understand: Having been tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the overwhelming majority of these educated youth have a red heart loyal to Chairman Mao and they will do what Chairman Mao says. This is the essence, the mainstream. Their shortcomings can be corrected by education. When a question is viewed, we must see its essential and main aspects and must not view it subjectively, one-sidedly and superficially. Otherwise, it is not possible to make a success of the re-education of the educated youth. With their understanding thus raised, the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and cadres performed with enthusiasm and initiative ideological and political work for the educated youth. They studied Mao Tsetung thought together with them, recalled the bitter past and thought of the happy present, combated self and criticized revisionism together with them, and performed manual labor together with them. They took up together the heavy load of educating the educated youth.

How should the question of the non-essential and minor aspects of the educated youth be dealt with? Chairman Mao pointed out: "The non-essential and minor aspects cannot be overlooked and must be dealt with properly one by one." ("The Question of Agricultural Cooperation") In the course of re-educating the educated youth, we followed Chairman Mao's great teaching, strengthened the leadership, began with ideological education, ceaselessly raised consciousness in the continuation of the revolution, and brought about the ideological revolutionization of the educated youth.

One day, due to the need of work, the production team asked a young educated woman to stay home to cook. She refused and said: "Cooking is troublesome and tiresome and uninteresting." At the time, some commune members said: "Since she is good in everything and the matter is of little importance, let us find someone else to do the job." The leadership of the revolutionary committee of the brigade held that although the matter was of little importance and not a question of an essential aspect, yet if we did not deal with it seriously and help her raise her understanding, a minor question would become a major one under certain conditions and the question of a non-essential aspect would also become one involving essential aspects. Therefore, the brigade cadre went to chat with her and studied together with her "Serve the People" so as to make her understand that the fear of hardship and fatigue was hatched by bourgeois "self" in the mind, was a reluctance to continue with the revolution and was very dangerous. From then on, she painstakingly and creatively studied and applied Mao Tsetung thought, and took the initiative to temper herself in hard toil. Every day, she made use of her rest time to feed pigs, chop firewood and cultivate vegetables of her own accord and help her fellow students mend their clothes. She showed no fear for hardship and fatigue and was praised by the poor and lower-middle peasants and the educated youth. Because we incessantly employed Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking to solve problems of the non-essential and minor aspects among the educated youth, we raised the consciousness of the educated youth in accepting re-education by the poor and lower-middle peasants.

In the conduct of re-education, we also constantly paid attention to grasping the ideological struggle when difficulties were encountered by the educated youth and overcoming their negative factors with their advanced thought and positive factors. For a time last year, there was a bigger fluctuation in the thought of the educated youth, and they wanted to leave for some other place on the ground that life was hard there. What should be done? The chairman of the revolutionary committee of the brigade analyzed things with the viewpoint of one dividing into two. Because of the hard living conditions here, some educated youth thought of leaving, but there was also a possibility for them to stay. Provided we gave prominence to proletarian politics, grasped the revolution, promoted production and relied on their own positive factors to overcome the negative factors, departure would be transformed into stay, retreat into advance, and feeling ill at ease into feeling at ease.

Therefore, we made a careful observation, and discovered that an educated youth received a letter from another student asking her to go to a farm in another place. But it occurred to her that difficulties could temper one's revolutionary determination and that successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat must be tempered and brought up in the storm. Chairman Mao taught us: "One is more eager to go where the difficulties are greater." I certainly must heed what Chairman Mao said and temper myself in a difficult environment. She immediately wrote a reply to the other student declining the invitation to go to the farm. The revolutionary committee of the brigade used such advanced thought and positive factors among the educated youth to educate the masses and to enlighten the educated youth to educate themselves, thus giving everybody a live education. The educated youth expressed that they certainly must make up their minds to strike root in the place, be the pupils of the poor and lower-middle peasants the rest of their lives, and make revolution in the countryside the rest of their lives.

The revolutionary committee of the brigade comes to understand that the proletarian philosophy is based on struggle and revolution. The educated youth cannot be trained as successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat in the hothouse, and they must temper themselves in actual struggle. "It is imperative to permit them to do things, to learn lessons and increase their competence in the course of doing." ("The Question of Agricultural Cooperation") In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, we know that simultaneously with setting exacting demands for the educated youth in the political field and giving them warm assistance in the ideological field, we must trust them to the full and courageously make use of them. The poor and lower-middle peasants assign the educated youth with proper work according to their concrete conditions. Some of the educated youth join the Mao Tsetung thought propaganda teams, some serve as supervising personnel in the study of Chairman Mao's works, and some serve as company commanders, platoon commanders of the militia, primary school teachers, barefoot doctors, production team bookkeepers and leaders of women detachments in the brigade. Trusted by the poor and lower-middle peasants, the educated youth are in high spirits and work with redoubled efforts.

After serving as barefoot doctor, a young educated woman treated diseases for the poor and lower-middle peasants and learned acupuncture by practice on her own legs without making any complaint of pain. Because she wholeheartedly treated diseases for the poor and lower-middle peasants, she won the good praises of the latter.

The contradicting opposites are transformed into each other under given conditions. After putting the educated youth on the first line of the three great revolutionary struggles, new problems would appear, and it is imperative to carry out careful ideological and political work and exercise a tight grip on re-education. After taking up a teaching post last year, an educated youth thought that she was "close on" having been re-educated. As a consequence, she became somewhat slack in study, took part in manual work less often, and got in touch with the poor and lower-middle peasants less often. With the help of the brigade cadres, she conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's great teaching that "the transformation of the intellectuals and especially of their world outlook is a long-term process," viewed herself by dividing one into two, and came to learn that the continuation of the revolution is endless, that ideological transformation is a long-term process and that things cannot be put to right once and for all. In order to make revolution all the life, one must be re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants and undergo ideological transformation all the life. From then on, she learned humbly from the poor and lower-middle peasants everywhere, constantly took part in manual work and made fast progress.

* * *

Our Ideology Must Conform with the Laws Governing the Objective External World

by

Workers' Learn-Philosophy Group in the Aluminum Casting Company of the Pai-se Electric Motor Works, Kwangsi

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 10, Sept. 19, 1970)

Our aluminum casting company is responsible for casting with aluminum rotors for all electric motors in the whole plant. Over the past few years, by way of making living study and application of Chairman Mao's philosophic thinking, we have created the advanced technology of "precision processing-and-shrink fit of the turning axle" and solved one contradiction after another, thus enabling the rotors of electric motors to attain the advanced level in quality and production efficiency.

Mastering the Laws, Creating a New Technology

The insertion of the rotor of an electric motor into the socket is an important work procedure in the production of an electric motor. In the past, after casting the electric-motor rotor with aluminum, we put it on a 100-ton lubricating press and pressed the electric-motor axle into the socket, thus enabling these two parts to fit tightly together. This is called "cold pressing." Because the axle is pressed into the socket of the rotor by force, it is easy to deform and render useless the work and to affect seriously the quality of the product. At the same time, the intensity of labor is great and the production efficiency is also low.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "If a man wants to succeed in his work, that is, to achieve the anticipated results, he must bring his ideas to conform with the laws of the objective external world, otherwise he will fail in his practice." ("On Practice") This is to say, it is necessary to know and transform the world according to the theory of reflection of dialectical materialism. Chairman Mao's teaching made us understand that it was due to our having no true knowledge of the objective laws governing the technology for fitting together the axle and the rotor that we always ran into snags in the matter of quality in the past. We thought that since the principal object of this operation sequence was to fit tightly together the axle and the rotor, whether or not the method used to fit them together was rational held the key to the question of quality. Our hypothesis was based on the theory that matter expands when hot and contracts when cold. After casting the rotor, if it was inserted into the socket while it was still hot and in an expanding state, then after the rotor cooled off, the socket necessarily would contract, and the rotor and the axle would naturally and tightly fit together, thus avoiding the question of quality mentioned above. We all made up our minds to experiment with this new technology of "precision processing and shrink fit of the turning axle."

By way of uninterrupted practice and analysis, all of us were of the view that the coordination of tolerance held the key to this technology. We computed the tolerance of "hot insertion" on the basis of the tolerance of "cold pressing" and put it to test in practice. Although we failed a number of times in our tests, yet the determination of us aluminum casting workers was not shaken in the least. We firmly believed that provided we learned lessons from our failure and "corrected our ideas to make them conform with the laws of the external world" ("On Practice"), we certainly could turn failure into success. By way of repeated practice, we finally learned the objective laws governing the technology of "hot insertion" and found from an abundance of parameters a set of rational data for the technology of "hot insertion." The successful creation of this new technology for production has not only insured the quality of the electric motor and spared a unit of giant equipment--the lubricating press, but also cut down the four operation sequences that followed the former "cold pressing" to one operation sequence, raised the production efficiency by five times compared with the "cold pressing," and at the same time greatly alleviated the intensity of labor and saved an abundance of steel products.

Grasp the Principal Contradiction, Solve the "Long-Standing, Big and Difficult" Problems

The "cracks," "shrink holes" and "blowholes" arisen in the technology of casting electric-motor rotors with aluminum are important quality problems that our plant has all along been unable to solve for many years. Where lies the key to these "long-standing, big and difficult" problems? Chairman Mao teaches us in "On Contradiction": "In studying any complex process in which there are two or more contradictions, we must devote every effort to finding its principal contradiction. Once this principal contradiction is grasped, all problems can be readily solved." Our concrete analysis of the problems that give rise to "cracks," "shrink holes" and "blowholes" reveals that under the condition that the composition of the aluminum ingot is constant, there are still many contradictions that give rise to such quality problems. For example, the structure of the dies is irrational, the temperature is not suitable when liquid aluminum is poured into the dies, improper casting methods are used, etc. But which is after all the principal contradiction?

By way of practice, we discovered that the irrational structure of the dies was the principal contradiction, and we therefore concentrated our efforts in reforming the structure of the dies. Due to the grasping of the principal contradiction, the problems of quality in casting aluminum were basically solved.

But under the new conditions, the contradiction which was formerly not the principal one also rose to become the principal contradiction. At different times, we incessantly solved the problem of mastering the temperature of the liquid aluminum, summed up and applied the rational technological data which we accumulated in production and also convened special meetings of shifts and groups for the purpose of formulating together concrete rules for keeping the spot clean and guarding against the adulteration of the liquid aluminum. We thus relied on Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophic

thought to solve the "long-standing, big and difficult" problems of "cracks," "shrink holes" and "blowholes", enabling the quality of the rotors cast with aluminum to attain the advanced level.

From "General Handling" to "Special Treatment"

Not long ago, our plant accepted the task of producing a number of No. 1 electric motors which we had never produced before. At first, all of us thought that since we were able to break through the technical barrier of casting with aluminum rotors for No. 5 electric motors, the smaller rotors for the No. 1 electric motors would present no problem. Out of our expectation, when we cast the No. 1 rotors with the method we used in casting with aluminum the No. 5 rotors, every rotor cast was useless. We were thus defeated.

What was after all the matter? We consulted "On Contradiction." Chairman Mao pointed out: "Qualitatively different contradictions can only be resolved by qualitatively different methods." "Every form of motion contains within itself its own particular contradiction. This particular contradiction constitutes the particular essence which distinguishes one thing from another." Chairman Mao's teachings made us see light. In order to fulfill successfully the task of casting with aluminum the No. 1 rotors, we must find out its particularity that distinguishes such task from that of casting with aluminum the No. 5 rotors, and adopt appropriate operational methods. This is to say, we must resort to "special treatment" and cannot resort to "general handling."

We made a concrete analysis of the problems of casting with aluminum the No. 1 rotor and the No. 5 rotor, and discovered that although both of them are rotors in the electric motors and their aluminum casting technological data are also identical in part and have a common nature, yet because the specifications, type and size of these two kinds of rotors are at variance, the number, size and depth of the rotor channels are also at variance, and the flow of the liquid aluminum poured into the rotor channels also varies in length. The No. 5 rotor channel is big, and the liquid aluminum flows at a faster rate at the time of casting. On top of this, the heat of the liquid aluminum is not easy to dissipate and the liquid aluminum condenses at a slower rate. Therefore, when the liquid aluminum is poured, the flow increases in volume and speed, and the infusion is gradually reinforced to insure the liquid aluminum of rational contraction. On the other hand, because the No. 1 rotor channel is small, the liquid aluminum flows in slowly when poured, the heat is also easy to dissipate, and the liquid aluminum condenses at a faster rate. Therefore, at the time of pouring, it is not possible to reinforce infusion gradually, and each injection must be swiftly completed under pressure. If the particular essence and the particular form of motion of the No. 1 rotor are not understood, and such a rotor is indiscriminately cast according to the operational method used in casting with alunimum the No. 5 rotor, the practice necessarily ends in failure. Consequently, we adopted a method diametrically opposite to the technology used in casting with aluminum the No. 5 rotor and finally scored victory in practice by casting with aluminum standard No. 1 rotors at the high rate of 98 percent.

The process of technical renovation for raising the quality of electric motors is a process for us to make living study and application of Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophic thought in practice, to understand the objective laws and to take the initiative in transforming the objective world. Fighting under the command of Chairman Mao's philosophic thought, we have won victory in the struggle for production. From now on, we certainly must go further in making living study and application of Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophic thinking and strive for greater achievements in the three great revolutionary movements--the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

* * *

Exert Efforts in a Rational Way

by

Scientific Experimental Group of Paiyangho No. 4 Production Team, Yümen City, Kansu

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 10, Sept. 19, 1970)

Chairman Mao teaches: "Freedom is required for the understanding of necessity and the transformation of the objective world." In developing agricultural production over the past several years, we have taken the class struggle as the key and relied upon the poor and lower-middle peasants in carrying out farming in a scientific way; we have continued to understand and transform Nature. Practice has led us to the realization that armed with Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking, we are able to ascertain the "temper" of Nature and carry out planting in a rational manner. What we mean by "rational manner" is that we must conform to the objective laws as well as master them in carrying out farming successfully and achieving high yields.

For many years here we used a wheat variety called Paitatou. Some people said: This old variety has been used for generations; it is adaptable to the local soil and even in a bad year 80 percent of the crop was harvestable. Therefore, they felt that using this old variety was "insurance" as well as a "rational thing" to do.

As a matter of fact, this variety was no "insurance." As it had been used for many years it had degenerated slowly and output was unsteady. Even in a good year barely 70-80 percent of the crop was successful, but in a bad year, 30-40 percent of the crop failed. Could we say this was a "rational thing" to do?

As soon as our scientific experimental group was established, along with the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants in the team it acted in accordance with the great leader Chairman Mao's teachings, broke down superstitions, liberated thought, and regarded the adoption and popularization of fine strains as an important key to scientific farming. It decided to use new wheat varieties.

First we brought in four fine, high-yield wheat strains from other areas and compared them with the local old varieties. The results showed that with the same water and fertilizer resources, the per mow output of Paitatou took the fourth place, and one of the new varieties yielded 25 percent more than Paitatou. Thus the facts proved that using the old variety was no "insurance" at all, nor was it a "rational thing" to do. The whole team rose in enthusiasm over the adoption of fine strains.

In 1965, a poor peasant commune member, while working in a wheat field, discovered a wheat plant with strong stalks and big ears. He tied a red thread onto it. During summer harvesting, he threshed and stored it,

using it to foster seeds. The experiment at that time showed that this fine wheat strain formed by natural hybrid had a capacity for high yield and was worth popularizing. After three consecutive years of experiment, its per mow output was maintained at over 800 catties. It was notable for strong stalks, big ears, and full grains. The area in which it was sown was expanded and it was also introduced to other brother communes and teams.

In the last several years we have persisted in combining bringing seeds from other areas with the selection of seeds in the local area, and fine strains have been initially introduced for all food crops.

From the case of Paitatou we were so enlightened as to further understand that carrying out farming in a scientific way necessitates struggle not only against the class enemies but also against the old habits of forces. Conditions are changing constantly and man's thinking must conform with the changing conditions and to the laws of the objective world. We must use revolutionization of thinking to provide impetus to the development of production and must not do anything to restrict nature.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "We understand that, whatever we do, if we do not know its conditions, character, and connections with things outside, we shall not know its law, and in that case we shall not know where we are going and not be able to do that thing well." ("Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War")

The same is true of growing crops. We must first set the lofty goal of increasing farm output in the interest of the revolution; at the same time, we must rationally adopt various measures for increasing production in the light of prevailing conditions with regard to time, place and crop--such as rational use of water, rational application of manure, rational close planting, etc.

The agricultural "eight-word charter" drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal direction scientifically summed up the experiences gained in boosting farm output. It is the basic approach for us to develop agricultural production. It is the key for scientific farming. Overall implementation of the "eight-word charter" and introduction of scientific farming requires exerting efforts in a rational way.

On this question we have learned our lessons. Take close planting for example. In 1965, the team used a fine wheat strain. Planting it too closely affected the harvest. The second year we changed to sparse planting, but output was still low.

Why could we not reap high yields of a high-yielding strain? With this problem in mind, we repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's related teachings and we realized that the crucial question was "rationality." Planting too closely prevented the normal growth of the crop, while planting too sparsely rendered it impossible to make full use of soil fertility. This was irrational indeed. We made a concrete analysis of the characteristics of the fine strain and the properties of the local soil, and we found the

practical data for rational close planting. At the same time, we found the way for rational application of fertilizer and water. Output rose markedly. By 1968, the 22 mow of bumper-yield wheat fields had an average per mow yield of one thousand catties, and a high-yield record was set for the locality.

Chairman Mao, our great leader, teaches us by saying: "Correct understanding of a thing often has to be accomplished through the repeated process from matter to spirit, from spirit to matter, from practice to knowledge and from knowledge to practice." ("Where Do Man's Correct Ideas Come From?")

To be "rational" in planting, we must have a scientific attitude and analyze the contradictions of things in practice, so as to find the right approach. To go against this logic is irrational and will lead to failure in practice. How much seeds should be planted "rationally" on a mow of land? This cannot be determined by purely subjective imagination, but by repeated process of practice, knowledge, practice again and knowledge again. This is true of close planting as it is of other problems.

To cultivate the experimental fields well, we studied the problems we discovered in big fields in order to "break through on one point and gain the experience" and speedily bring the fruits of study from the experimental fields to the big fields for popularization. This is an important way for letting the point lead the whole area so far as farming is concerned.

In 1967, the team brought in a fine variety of broad beans. At that time it was said that this variety had a short maturity period and could yield 20-30 percent more than the local broad beans. Without testing the new variety, we planted it to the big fields. Because we did not know the performance and characteristics of the new strain, we used the local methods of cultivation for sowing and management. As a result, per mow output in that year was only 180 catties--lower than the output of the local broad beans.

Practice made us realize that the high-yielding strain in other areas was proved by practice there, and that when it was brought here, we had to test it again before we could determine its adaptability and use-value. Different areas **differ in climate, water and fertilizer,** and this requires us, in the light of the characteristics of the varieties concerned, to use methods of cultivation conformable to the local realities. The fact that the high-yield broad beans brought in suffered reduced output was not due to the fault of the variety but due to the irrationality of our methods of cultivation and our failure **in adapting well this variety to our local conditions.**

One fall into the pit means growth in our wisdom. After that, we experimented with this variety in a small plot, and in the course of experiment we carefully observed and recorded the condition of its growth and proceeded with cultivation in accordance with local conditions. By experimenting, analyzing, studying at the same time, we ascertained its law for production increase. After that, we brought it to the big fields.

As a result of this, the per mow output was 700 catties--an increase of 60 percent over the local broad bean variety.

In the past, when growing flax here we used to adopt the old method of **casting the seeds loose without applying manure. Per mow** output was only about 100 catties. Some commune members, their hands and feet bound by old habits, always believed that seeds of flax could be sown only by broadcasting, and could not be sown by strip sowing and no manure should be applied. They said: "Strip sowing and deep planting would put the plant to death" and "if we apply manure, the plant would not form seeds when it becomes green."

Impelled by the great proletarian cultural revolution, we changed the old methods of cultivation. We set up an experimental plot for flax, measuring one-**tenth** of a mow and used strip sowing and planting. We used water and fertilizer and managed it with great care. The result was that all seeds sown sprouted and the plants grew well. Per mow output was 200 catties, and a bumper crop was reaped. The success in the experiment for increasing the output of flax enabled us to find the experiences. This educated the masses as well. The next step was to use strip sowing for the big fields. We strengthened field care and the output of flax in the whole team rose by a large margin.

The relationship between the point and the whole area where farming is concerned is a process from the special to the general and from the general to the special. We have profoundly realized that to make a success of the experimental fields, we must take the whole situation into account, keeping in mind the need to serve the big fields.

For the past several years, because the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and the commune members as a whole have studied and applied Chairman Mao's philosophical ideas in a living manner, seriously implemented the agricultural "eight-word charter," and exerted efforts in a rational manner, our production team, located in the Gobi desert with a short frost-free period, dry climate, and heavy salinity of soil, has increased production over the last consecutive years. Last year, in spite of the natural calamities we suffered, we still reaped a good crop. For the whole team the average per mow output was 660 catties--more than a 100 percent increase over 1962. Facts have educated us all: Only by studying and applying Chairman Mao's philosophical writings in a more creative manner can we continue to win new victories in the three major revolutionary movements.

* * *

Hold the Initiative in River Nagivation

by

"437" tug-boat Group of Changshu Hsien
Steam Boat Business Bureau, Kiangsu

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 10, Sept. 19, 1970)

Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophical thinking is priceless for the revolution. Armed with it, people become wise and their hearts redder. Using it to guide navigation, we are able to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results.

Our "437" tug-boat was launched after it underwent a major overhaul in the winter of 1964. For more than five years we summed up our experience from the viewpoint of one dividing into two, and we used the law of unity of opposites to guide navigation. It has travelled more than 19,800 hours or more than 158,000 kilometers with safety in inland rivers and lakes south of the Yangtze. Its rate of operation reached 96 percent, and its rate of turn-round in terms of numbers of trips rose by 70 percent. It has had no engine trouble or suffered any damage to its body which would have caused its suspension. The maintenance of the boat is also relatively good.

Combine Loading with Safety

In the past, our navigation department held the viewpoint which set greater loading absolutely against safety. For more than five years our tug-boat workers have been engaged in creative study and application of Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophical thinking and combined greater loading with safety. On the premise of insuring safety, the loading capacity was exceeded, as a result of which the freight volume carried by the fleet rose by approximately 30 percent.

The carrying capacity of the cargo boats must be built on the objective conditions. It is impermissible to exceed the carrying capacity in a blind manner. However, if goods are carried by boats, boats are operated by people. Provided objective materials allow, if we give full play to man's positive factors, continue to raise our understanding of the law of cargo carrying, continue to create and develop new conditions for freight transport, then we shall be able to increase the cargo carrying capacity of the cargo boats to meet the needs of the rapid development of industrial and agricultural production.

To achieve unity of greater loading and safety, we must raise the stability of the hull. For the same types of goods, the methods of loading differ as the stability of the hull differs.
In the case of a batch of light and foamy goods, if a train wagon can carry 140 bales, a boat can only carry 120.

In order to achieve compatibility between train and boat and raise efficiency, we carried out rational loading. As a result, each boat now carries 140 bales while the stability of the hull is very high. In the course of practice, moreover, we also discovered that the key to stability is to prevent a cargo carrying boat from being "heavy at the bow and light at the stern." In the cotton transporting season, we improved the method of loading goods into the cabin of the boat, increasing the freight volume at the bottom of the cabin. The number of bales each boat is capable of carrying was increased from 180 to 220, while stability was enhanced.

Since then, we have further adopted the methods of mixing the light and heavy cargoes. Often, while towing light and foam goods, we load a quantity of heavy goods at the bottom of the cabin, thereby further raising the stability of the hull. The result is that the seven or eight cargo boats we have are capable of carrying as much goods as more than ten cargo boats can carry normally.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "A military expert cannot win a battle outside the framework permitted by material conditions. However, he may and must strive to win a battle within the framework permitted by material conditions. The stage for the military expert is built on the objective material conditions; yet on this stage he may direct many, many spectacular dramas." ("Problems of Strategy in the Chinese Revolutionary War")

This is true of fighting as it is of loading a boat. When people listen to Chairman Mao, boats will listen to people. Using Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophical thinking to guide cargo carrying, we are able to load more goods with safety.

Take the Initiative to Create Conditions for Speedy Transport

An acute problem which affects speedy transport is that goods cannot be loaded or unloaded from a boat in time when it arrives at port. In the past the view was that with the initiative in the hands of the loading and unloading unit, the crew of the boat were in a passive position. This accounted for the delay, which was inevitable. Here there is a problem of holding the initiative or being in a passive position.

Chairman Mao teaches us: Initiative "is a thing we must strive to obtain consciously; it is not a ready-made thing." ("Problem of Strategy for the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla War") In line with Chairman Mao's great teachings, we first of all seriously analyzed the causes for the delay of the fleet and realized that the principal cause was that the crew and the unloading units lacked coordination. The loading and unloading units failed to calculate the time of arrival of the boats, so that frequently they were unprepared when the boats arrived. Hasty action brought difficulties in arrangement.

The initiative for the sailing of the fleet as well as the speed of navigation are with us. Provided we actively coordinate with the other

side, we shall not only be able to seize the initiative ourselves but also help the other side free themselves from passivity. Holding the initiative and being passive are relative to each other; under certain circumstances, passivity can be turned into activity. Under other circumstances, initiative can be lost. For this reason, man's subjective efforts are the decisive factor for turning passivity into activity.

After our understanding was raised, we took the initiative to coordinate closely with the loading and unloading units by reporting to them in advance of the arrival or departure of boats. We have transport schedules, thereby effectively solving the problem of delay for boats.

Things always advance in the midst of contradictions. After transport schedules are introduced, it is necessary to insure punctual sailing. Once, we went to a place for loading of wheat. Precisely at that time there were shock tasks to be done in that place. They sent us a very small number of dock workers. This would make it impossible to load the boats even in three days. Under such circumstances, we changed the past practice. We loaded the boats helped by dock workers, thus insuring the departure of the boats on the same day. From this experience we realized further that the key to changing passivity into activity is to promote the spirit of greater loading and fast transport for the sake of the revolution and make a success of the revolutionization of man's thinking.

With revolutionized people, we will have revolutionized boats. In view of this, we constantly undertake serious study of the "three constantly read articles," measuring and examining ourselves with "entirely" and "wholly" serving the people. Thus we fully promoted the revolutionary spirit of initiative. When the boats arrive at the dock, we always take the initiative to take part in loading or unloading, thereby greatly speeding up the turn-round rate. In over three years of sailing on the fixed line between Changshu and Wusih, we have basically achieved this result: loading and unloading in the daytime and sailing at night, and one return trip in two days. The average number of trips a month is increased from 14 to 24 and, in some cases, to 28.

Insure Smooth Navigation Under Unfavorable Conditions

With regard to navigation, such a theory prevailed in the past: "Thirty percent of risk is involved in boat sailing. While depending on the water, you have to depend on the heaven too." Practice proves that this view which looks upon natural conditions as the decisive factor for safe navigation is wrong. On one occasion, the higher up told us to take part in a shock transport task, asking us to return to port with empty boats the same night. That night, the wind was mild, the water calm and the weather very good. We became somewhat lethargic and careless, feeling that navigation under such conditions was perfect. The result: we ran into difficulties around a bend. The steam boat ran aground on a shoal while sailing with speed. Luckily, the crew discovered this early and the face of the shoal was small in area. We hung up the taper, and sailed clear of the shoal.

This lesson taught us that while good or bad navigational conditions such as water current and climate had their effect on safe navigation, the decisive factor was man. Under adverse conditions of navigation, if only we gave prominence to proletarian politics, gave full play to man's subjective initiative, seriously dealt with the difficulties, mastered the laws, and were bold in struggle and winning, we would be able to avert the danger and insure safety. On the contrary, if we were benumbed or worked blindly, we would run into difficulties even if the navigational conditions were excellent.

One night, we accepted a shock task of transporting disaster relief goods. We had to tug eight boats with goods to Wusih--in time for the early morning train. After the boats set sail, we ran into a storm. The force of the northly wind suddenly rose to that of a eight-grade typhoon. According to regulations which set the limit to the capacity of the boats to resist the wind, our boats could not sail when the 7th-grade storm was blowing. Moreover, the goods we were carrying were light and foamy, and had to be loaded high, so that they presented a big target for the wind. The navigational conditions were bad indeed.

However, when we remembered this shock task was to aid the people in the disaster-stricken area to resist the calamity, we felt an upsurge of strength in us. Faced with the difficulties, we seriously studied Chairman Mao's teaching--"This army has the spirit of moving forward always. It is to overwhelm the enemy and is not to be overwhelmed by the enemy." Full coordination was exercised among the navigators and the other crews and between the steam boat and the tugs. Everyone braved against the wind. In traversing every dangerous path, we faced every difficulty and overcame it. The steam boat sailed at full speed, and this increased its capacity to resist the wind. Finally, we reached port in safety and fulfilled our task five hours in advance.

In prolonged periods of navigation, we have devised a set of safety measures for night sailing in heavy fog and in the midst of heavy snowfall. For the more than five years, we have not once suspended our voyage under complicated climatic conditions.

Do Maintenance Work Well to Prevent Trouble

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Freedom is required for the understanding of necessity and for the transformation of the objective world." Engine trouble and accidents involving damage of the hull are serious problems affecting safety of navigation. When such accidents occurred in the past, we either dropped the anchor in the middle of the voyage or towed the boat ashore or repair. After studying Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophical thinking, we made up our minds to solve this problem and strive for freedom of navigation.

According to the law of unity of opposites, engine trouble and damage of the hull develop in contradictions and struggle. The causes for such accidents can be traced. Holding this view, we made a careful study

of the various accidents that had occurred in the past. We devised three measures for preventing trouble from getting serious. We attached importance to maintenance work.

First, it is necessary to look for signs of trouble. In his "On Contradiction," Chairman Mao points out: "There are two states for the motion of everything: the state of relative tranquillity and the state of noticeable changing." "When the motion of a thing is in the first state, there is only the quantitative change and no qualitative change; therefore it appears to be static." The outbreak of mechanical trouble, viewed superficially, seems to be sudden, but in fact it likewise involves a process from quantitative change to qualitative change. Therefore, by frequently examining, analyzing and maintaining the engine in motion, we can discover signs of trouble before a quantitative change leads to a qualitative change.

Once, upon examining the engine during a voyage, we found that there was some slight loosening in the forward and backward motion of the foundation bolt. So, when we arrived at port and stopped the engines, we examined the ancillary engine and then the main engine. Finally, we found the damage of the hermetic oil ring, caused by grinding. As a result, we avoided a major accident that could have been caused by the loss of control of the automatic fueling tank. As a result of frequent examination, analysis and maintenance, we often have been able to prevent accidents from happening.

Secondly, to find out the law and take precautionary measures. In the course of sailing, the reversing gear box for emergency braking is most liable to damage, and since it is more complex structurally, we have to suspend the sailing for repair once it suffers a slight damage. What is the crucial factor in this respect? Looking at a problem from the viewpoint of changeability, we must look for the cause from the process of motion. The reason is that in sailing, the navigation conditions, often have to reverse or go forward as required, and sometimes do this suddenly. This often leads to mechanical faults. Hence, despite the fact that the operation of the engine appears to be normal, actually it is changing constantly. Knowing this, we often use the viewpoint of one dividing into two in looking at the normal operation of the engine, so that we see change from the lack of change.

Once, our fleet sailed in a river with the heaviest traffic. The boats had to reverse and go forward most frequently. On that occasion, we used the time when we were mooring at the dock in the course of the voyage to make inspection. As expected, we discovered that a control lock in the gear box had dropped. This enabled us to prevent a serious accident involving the damage of the engine. As we often see the change from normal operations, we take precaution while our boats are sailing safely, and we obtain the initiative in the maintenance of the engine. Acquiring freedom in this way, we have had no mechanical accidents in more than five years.

Thirdly, it is necessary to grasp the main contradictions. In the past, with respect to the maintenance of the hull, we were content with frequent sweeping and cleaning and overhaul, so that no stagnant water could

remained on the deck, no grease was left in the engine room, and small damage was remedied in good time. Having studied Chairman Mao's teaching about grasping the main contradictions in solving problems, we came to realize that only by grasping what was essential could we do maintenance work well for the hull of the boat.

The main problem of the maintenance of the hull is that inner damange is not easily detectable. Take, for example, the 86 props which support the hull. In ordinary times, they are dry, but they rust most seriously. In the past, one major overhaul was undertaken in every four years, and in the first place we replaced the old props. In the past, too, since we did not make clear the cause of this problem, we were unable to begin work of maintenance, and felt a sense of frustration. Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking enlightened us. After the major overhaul and the boat was launched into water, we traced the origin of this problem and finally found the cause: the props were affected by humidity. The truth was this: The seams of the prop on the deck near the cabin showed cleavages as a result of the fact that the putty contracted after the prop was exposed to the sun and to the night fog for a long time, and the water used for cleaning the deck often seeped into the cabin. Since the cleavages were not clearly seen, they were not detected usually, but the prop rusted. Since then, we used the processed tung oil to close the seams and thus eliminated this hidden trouble. From this we have further realized that hidden problems often cause the most serious harm. Because of this, we seriously check the parts subject to inner damage which is not easy to detect. Whenever we detect one damaged part, we repair it. Thus we acquire the freedom for the maintenance of the hull, and greatly raise the level of maintenance. In more than five years our tug-boat was taken to shore for minor repairs only three times, which caused the boat to suspend sailing for 85 days (equivalent to the number of days of suspension of sailing within one year under ordinary times). Thus we have changed the traditional cycle of one intermediate overhaul in every two years and one big overhaul in every four years. Judging by the degree of perfection of the hull, the cycle of major overhaul can be prolonged to about ten years.

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Big Factories Must Learn from Advanced Small Factories

- an ideological commentary -

by

Ching Kung-wen (景恭文)

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Under the guiding light of the general line of "building socialism by going all-out and aiming high to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results" formulated by the great leader Chairman Mao himself, the big factories are advancing and so are the small factories. A number of unknown small factories have in one leap surged ahead of a new upsurge in industrial production to become the eye-catching fresh troops bubbling with vigor and vitality.

Confronted by such circumstances, the comrades of certain big factories could no longer sit tight. They put themselves in contrast with the advanced deeds of the small factories, looked for the differences, unearthed the root causes, learned humbly, swiftly rose in pursuit, and energetically gave impetus to the development of the revolution and production in their own units. They declared with deep understanding: There is much goodness in learning from the small factories. The more we learn, the more is the line correctly oriented, the greater our ambitions become, the stronger is our spirit of striving for regeneration through our own efforts, and the more the style of hard struggle is brought into play. With the big factories learning from the small factories, the two learn from each other, cooperate with each other and support each other, thus leading to the emergence of the touching scene of the small factories spurring on the big factories and the big factories leading forward the small factories. During the new upsurge of socialist industrial production, those big factories that learn humbly from the factories and firmly carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line have also played a better role as the mainstay.

But can we say that all big factories take any note of the experience gained by the advanced small factories and are humbly learning from them? We cannot say so. Are there not a small number of comrades making "a lot of noise" about why they cannot learn from the small factories?

"One can not learn anything from the small factories which are poor and indigenous, can one?"

In fact, the opposite is true. The advanced small factories have valuable experiences. Much can be learned from them, and it is not true to say that "nothing can be learned from them." What can be learned is that although they are poor and indigenous, yet they firmly and consistently adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and are able to make great contributions despite their size. There is in Peking a semi-conductor plant

which was formerly a small factory producing scales with wooden beams. Its work force is small, its work conditions are poor and its technical force is weak. It truly could in no way be compared with those big factories that employ several thousand and even up to ten thousand workers, are equipped with several thousand units of machinery, and are strong in technical force. However, this plant produced nine generations of products in several years, and within the short course of three months, it successfully trial manufactured the Chinese type of high-precision, all-crystal-tube, automatic-thermostat diffusion furnace of the advanced level, although some big factories are still producing the old products of the forties and fifties at the present. There is also a small badminton racket plant that proceeds from the need of the revolution to smash the boundaries of different kinds of work and trades and launch the mass movement on a large scale. With the assistance of several fraternal small plants, it has actually built a machine tool for thirteen purposes that certain big machine works have not been able to build over many years. These striking facts have forcefully refuted the erroneous viewpoint of those that regard themselves as big factories and look down upon the small factories.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The wealth of society is created by the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. If they take their destiny into their own hands, follow a Marxist-Leninist line and take an active attitude in solving problems instead of evading them, there will be no difficulty in the world which they cannot overcome." (Introductory Note to "The Party Secretary Takes the Lead and All the Party Members Help Run the Cooperatives")

Although those advanced small factories are poor and indigenous and their work conditions are rather poor, yet they "think of changes because they are poor and want to do work and make revolution." They are not conservative and do not stand still. Instead, they topple the old idols, emancipate themselves ideologically, establish ambitious designs, bring their sky-rocketing zeal into play, surmount one difficulty after another, and advance steadfastly along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. They fear not poverty because they are ambitious although poor. They are not afraid of indigenous methods because they have a way to use indigenous methods. Their ambition is to surpass the advanced level of the world and win glory for the great leader Chairman Mao and the great socialist fatherland. Their way is to bring into full play the subjective initiative of the broad masses who are armed with Mao Tsetung thought, foster the spirit of the "pauper," and rely on a red heart and a pair of hands to transform the world.

On the other hand, because the pernicious influence of renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's "doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace," "slavish philosophy of foreigners" and other counter-revolutionary revisionist lines have not been satisfactorily eradicated and the enthusiasm of the masses has not been fully aroused, some big factories are heavily laden with conventions and are conservative. As a consequence, although their equipment is good and the technique used is new, they are at a standstill and are unable to give free scope to their role.

"Modesty brings one progress and arrogance makes one lag behind." Those comrades who feel that "there is nothing to learn" from the small factories are confined to the narrow world of their own units, have limited scholarship and experience and are poorly informed. They make much of themselves and do not know that there is another new world. This kind of thinking that makes people in big factories arrogant is actually one of the important reasons why some big factories are backward without knowing it. These comrades should hasten to drop the pretentious airs and graces of big factories, learn from the advanced small factories positively but not passively, conscientiously but not perfunctorily, deeply but not superficially, get educated and gain experience, so their own units can closely keep pace with the excellent situation of the leap in development.

"The conditions of a big factory are different from those of a small factory and there is no way to learn!" This is nothing more than a pretext of some comrades who are unwilling to learn from the small factories.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "There is universality in particularity and there is the general character in the individual character." ("On Contradiction") Both the big factories and the small factories have their own particular conditions, but all of them are socialist enterprises and should firmly and consistently adhere to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the "Anshan Steel Constitution." In emphasizing that big factories must learn from the advanced small factories, we definitely do not mean that the big factories should change into the conditions of small factories. What we mean is that the big factories should learn from the advanced small factories in steadfastly advancing in the general direction of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, their revolutionary spirit of relying on the masses, "self-reliance" and "hard struggle," their ambitious determination in daring to scale pinnacles, take on heavy loads, blaze new trails and surpass the advanced level of the world. In short, the revolutionary spirit and advanced experience of the small factories should be developed and glorified under the conditions of the big factories. What makes one think this cannot be done?

Some comrades always think that because the big factories are modern in equipment and the production process is linked together, "pulling at one hair will set the whole body in motion," there is not as much room for reform and development in them as in the small factories. They fear that learning from the small factories would upset the existing production order of the big factories, and they therefore choose to be conservative without doing anything. They are thus sunk into one-sidedness.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In human society, activity in production develops step by step from a lower to a higher level." ("On Practice") Every kind of production equipment or production order is made or laid down by mankind through summing up the experience gained in the practice of production. A given production equipment or production order reflects the level of production development at a given period. What appeared to be advanced equipment or order yesterday may show its backward or irrational aspect when

the productive forces are further developed. Consequently, we can never show blind faith in these things, and must especially not be cowed by foreign machinery, foreign equipment and foreign conventions. We should learn the revolutionary spirit of the advanced small factories, handle the existing production equipment and production order with the viewpoint of "one divides into two," dare to smash the old and foreign conventions, and "take our own road of industrial development."

A mechanization factory in Peking imported from a capitalist country a set of so-called "most advanced" equipment of the sixties. Some people looked upon it as divine and were of the view that it should not be touched. After learning from the advanced small factories the revolutionary spirit of daring to think and to take action, the broad masses were greatly inspired. They toppled the old idols, emancipated themselves ideologically, and by way of studying and testing things again and again, they operated on the foreign equipment, and doubled the production capacity. This vividly shows that although the conditions of the big and small factories are different, yet provided study is conducted in real earnest, we certainly can learn successfully the revolutionary spirit of the small factories.

"The masses have boundless creative power. They can organize themselves and concentrate on places and branches of work where they can give full play to their energy; they can concentrate on production in breadth and depth." (Introductory Note to "Surplus Labor Has Found a Way Out") Those comrades who think that "there is no way to learn from the small factories because conditions are different", fail to see the unlimited wisdom and strength lying latent in the broad masses armed with Mao Tsetung thought. They see only modernization, automation and streamlining in production, but they contrive to forget ideological revolutionization. This kind of bourgeois thinking that sees only things but not human beings has tightly tied them down like the "incantation that contracts the metal band round the head." These comrades should study the revolutionary spirit of the advanced small factories, "trust the masses, rely on the masses and respect the initiative of the masses" to the full extent, and utilize the more favorable conditions of the big factories to make contributions greater than those made by the small factories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

"Since the big factories are not in 'conformity' with the small factories, how can the former learn from the latter?"

It must be pointed out that when the big factories learn from the small factories, it is very difficult to achieve complete "conformity." When the trades are in "conformity," the products are not necessarily in "conformity." When the products are in "conformity," the streamlining of technology may not necessarily be in "conformity." When the streamlining of technology is in "conformity," the arrangements for various kinds of machinery, equipment and work also are not necessarily in "conformity." If emphasis must be laid on preceding learning with complete "conformity," this is tantamount to rejecting the need for the big factories to learn from the advanced small factories.

Chairman Mao teaches us: Politics is the supreme commander, the soul, and "political work is the life-blood of all economic work." In learning from the advanced small factories, if the big factories proceed from the simply technical viewpoint, lay one-sided emphasis on vocational "conformity," notice only the material results but not the ideological results of the small factories, observe only the development of the small factories in production but not the changes in the spiritual outlook of man, pay attention only to the new products and new techniques created by the small factories but neglect to learn their good ideas and good work styles, then such learning is removed of the political soul.

In the present new upsurge of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, it is essential to emphasize the need for big factories to learn from small factories in order to make the big factories glow with the spirit of continuing with the revolution and play a better role as the mainstay in industrial construction, to carry out Chairman Mao's series of policy based on walking on two legs--simultaneous promotion of big, medium and small enterprises, simultaneous promotion of modern production and indigenous production, to practice "independence and self-reliance" and "take one's own road of industrial development," and to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in socialist production. All comrades of the big factories should stand on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and should not adopt the opposite attitude.

With the big factories learning from the small factories, what should the small factories do? The advanced small factories must not be arrogant and they also must adopt the attitude of "one divides into two" toward their own work. Especially at a time other people are learning from them, they must see their own shortcomings in work and continue to move forward, but should never become complacent. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, a number of big factories held high the banner of the "Anshan Steel Constitution," criticized and repudiated Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, firmly and consistently adhered to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, gave prominence to proletarian politics, carried out technical renovation and comprehensive utilization on a large scale, accumulated rich experience, and played a better role as the mainstay. The small factories must humbly learn from these advanced big factories. By learning from each other, overcoming one's weakness with the strong points of the other and raising standards together, the big and small factories can make greater contributions for the Chinese people and the people of the world.

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Let Us All Show Concern for Enrollment of Students to Institutes of Higher Learning

by

Li Chih-hua (李志华)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 10, Sept. 19, 1970)

In autumn this year, a number of institutes of higher learning throughout the country will recruit new students in accordance with Chairman Mao's proletarian line of revolution in education. Large groups of workers, peasants and soldiers will march heroically into the socialist universities of a new type.

The enrollment of students to institutes of higher learning this time is a marked achievement of the great proletarian cultural revolution. During the great proletarian cultural revolution in the past four years, we have destroyed the counter-revolutionary revisionist line promoted by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and his agents in the departments of culture and education, and changed the situation where our schools were dominated by the bourgeois intellectuals. Under the leadership of its vanguard force, that is, the Communist Party, the working class has ascended the political stage of the struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure and re-educated the intellectuals with Mao Tsetung thought, inducing a drastic change in their mental outlook. Meanwhile, it also leads the intellectuals to actively carry out Chairman Mao's idea of proletarian educational revolution and has gained some experience in this concern. Large groups of educated youths have enthusiastically embarked on the road of integrating themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers as pointed out by Chairman Mao, received tempering and enhanced their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. All these have created essential conditions for the carrying out of Chairman Mao's important instruction "Take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in training technicians from among workers."

The reform in the system of enrollment of students is an important link in the reform of the educational system as a whole. On the front of schools, the struggle between the two classes and between the two lines are first expressed intensively in the enrollment of students. In the past several thousand years, the schools were opened to the exploiting classes and trained successors to the landlords and the bourgeoisie. This situation changed after the great proletarian cultural revolution. Students are enrolled in accordance with the requirements of the proletariat. This has been a deep-going socialist revolution. Two diametrically opposite lines of education exist in the questions of what people should be enrolled and what method should be adopted in enrolling new students.

A socialist university is an important front for training successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. It must firmly implement Chairman Mao's instruction and take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant and

"select students from among workers and peasants with practical experience, who will return to the practice of production after a few years' study in school." The old-type university dominated by Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line of education not only employed all possible means to keep the children of workers and peasants from the gate of the university, but also put into effect an educational system which trained successors to the bourgeoisie, so its students did not do manual labor, could not tell one kind of grain from another, did not have practical knowledge of class struggle, struggle for production, and scientific experiment, were alienated from the laboring people, and consequently became more and more muddle-minded as they went on with their studies. If this is allowed to develop, how can the dictatorship of the proletariat be consolidated? How can there be successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause which the revolutionary forerunners created?

Chairman Mao pointed out sharply long ago that: The question of training successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause is "an extremely important question, a matter of life and death for our Party and our country. It is a question of fundamental importance to the proletarian revolutionary cause for a hundred, a thousand, and, nay, ten thousand years." This requires all of us to show concern about the enrollment of students this time. A unit, whether it is a recruiting unit or a recommending unit, must obey Chairman Mao's instruction "It is imperative to put proletarian politics in command," regard the enrollment of students as an important political affair, and in no way should it adopt the simple business viewpoint and regard it merely as a trifle that "a unit sends a few people because a school recruits students." It must select from among the workers, peasants and soldiers some young activists who have behaved well during the three great revolutionary struggles. A recruiting unit must go deep among the workers, peasants and soldiers and work meticulously. A recommending unit must correctly handle the relationship between the whole and the part. The interests of a part should be subordinate to the interests of the whole. It is wrong to say that enrollment of students is "a matter of the schools and has nothing to do with me," to recommend a few people perfunctorily, or to "keep something in reserve" and refuse to send the backbone elements.

In the past, under the domination of the revisionist line of education, an institute of higher learning put "marks in command" when recruiting new students, saying that "everyone is equal before the marks," while actually exercising cultural dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the laboring people. The workers, peasants and soldiers pointed out straightforwardly: "The marks are actually a line barring the workers, peasants and soldiers!" In recruiting students this time, the institutes of higher studies must put Mao Tsetung thought in command throughout the course of the enrollment, give prominence to proletarian politics, boldly arouse the masses, put the mass line into effect, adopt the method of voluntary enrollment, recommendation by the masses, approval by the leadership and examination by the school, and do a really good job of selecting distinguished elements from among workers, peasants and soldiers and from the educated youths who have gone to the mountain and rural areas. They should, as some experimental units do, turn

the course of recruiting students into a course of studying, propagating and carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian line of education, and into a course of mass summing up and mass rating of the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought. In some localities there have appeared the touching scenes when some parents set up study classes for the new students, treat them to meals which remind them of the past bitterness, and give them revolutionary heirlooms. This not only insures the quality of the students to be recruited, but also steps up the work of grasping revolution and promoting production as well as other work among the recommending units. In the course of recruiting new students, it is imperative to implement the Party's class line and its various proletarian policies.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Put destruction first, and in the process you have construction." In establishing a new system of enrollment of students, it is first necessary to carry out revolutionary mass criticism, to further criticize the revisionist line of education, to criticize the bourgeois system of entrance examination, to criticize the reactionary method of using the establishment of personal fame as the bait and even using the bourgeois reactionary academic "authorities" as a signboard, as adopted by universities in the past. In particular, it is necessary for us to criticize the "theory of studying in order to be an official", the "theory that it is useless to study," and the theories that a youth has bright prospects once he enters a university, it is "not worthwhile" for a factory young worker to enter a university, and so on, in order to thoroughly eliminate the pernicious influence of the revisionist line of education.

The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the revolutionary youths of China show very close concern for the enrollment of students to institutes of higher learning. They are filled with great excitement when the news of enrollment of students to institutes of higher learning spreads to them. They hail time and again: "Long live Chairman Mao!" The broad masses of revolutionary youths are very grateful for the concern shown to the younger generation by the Party and Chairman Mao. They unanimously ask the Party and the people to select students in line with the needs of the revolution. They correctly handle the relationship between labor and study and revolution. They say loudly: "We go to the factories and the countryside for the cause of revolution. We go to university also for the cause of revolution. We do everything for the purpose of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat." It is a glorious, historic task for the worker-peasant-soldier students to enter university, manage it, use Mao Tsetung thought to remold an old-type university, and establish a socialist new university. While doing this, they must constantly preserve the natural color of the laboring people, perseveringly stay with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and train themselves into "laborers with both socialist consciousness and culture." Nourished by Mao Tsetung thought, the Chinese youth have glorious revolutionary traditions. During the years of the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression, countless youths crossed mountains, ran the blockade by the Kuomintang and risked their lives in order to come to study in the Anti-Japanese Military and Political College at Yenan which was founded by Chairman Mao himself. Why did they do so? For the purpose of reading Chairman Mao's works and learning the truth about the resistance against Japan and the national salvation. Compared with the past, our conditions

are much better today. But, this revolutionary spirit of seeking the truth and this glorious tradition of hard struggle deserve forever to be learned by us.

The going of the educated youths to the mountain and rural areas is a great strategic measure for training successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. The countryside provides a vast scope where the educated youths may show their talents to the greatest possible extent. Those educated youths who have not been given permission to go university must rest content with their work, continue to contribute their strength to the three great revolutionary movements in the countryside, and advance unswervingly along the road of integration with the workers, peasants and soldiers as pointed out by Chairman Mao.

Throughout the world "the landscape here is beyond compare." The capitalist and modern revisionist educational systems have declined totally and a completely new proletarian educational system is growing up in our great socialist motherland. The first enrollment of students after the great proletarian cultural revolution will be recorded with a completely new face in the history of the revolution and creates a good beginning of the founding of socialist universities. So long as we carry out practice in line with Chairman Mao's idea of educational revolution, we definitely can remold the old universities and carry the revolution on the fronts of education and culture through to the end.

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Overall Planning and Strengthening of the Leadership

- comment on several problems related to understanding the development of industries run by communes and production brigades

by

Lung Wen (龙文)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 10, Sept. 19, 1970)

In the victorious march of the great proletarian cultural revolution and guided by the great leader Chairman Mao's general line of socialist construction--"go all out, press forward and build socialism in a greater, faster, better and more economical way"--and his great strategic plan of "preparedness against war, preparedness against natural disasters, doing everything for the people," an upsurge of the development of industries run by communes and production brigades is rising, and different types of industries undertaken by hsien, communes and production brigades have sprung up like mushrooms and are blooming all over the country. The situation is favorable and makes one feel highly elated.

Under this excellent condition, the local leadership in many places has moved ahead of the movement to freely set the masses in motion, undertake overall planning, strengthen the leadership, correctly and in time handle the relationships between agriculture and light and heavy industries, between production and supply-marketing, between various trades and departments, and hold the initiative of leading the movement, making it possible for industries run by hsien, communes and production brigades to develop in a more rapid way.

Some believe that "it will do so long as the hsien, commune and brigade leadership does a good job in agriculture, and it is immaterial whether it does anything about industries." This is a one-sided view.

"Taking agriculture as the foundation and industries as the leading factor" is the general guideline for the development of our national economy. We must recognize the particularly important position agriculture occupies in socialist construction. The hsien, the commune and the production brigade must primarily be engaged in agriculture and make a success of socialist agriculture. Industries run by hsien, commune and production brigade are precisely important conditions for socialist agriculture to equip itself so as to expedite its mechanization and modernization. Our large industrial enterprises have the responsibility of supporting and equipping our agriculture. However, to rely on them alone cannot satisfy the needs of the broad countryside. We have to rely on the vigorous development of hsien, commune and brigade operated industries to solve our needs, whether they be repairing and making of farm machines, irrigation facilities, motors for agricultural use, fertilizers and farm drugs, rural transport, making and maintainence of non-field machines, part of the means of living of the peasants, or others. At the same time, as large industries are developed, successful

running of industries operated by hsien, commune and brigade may strengthen the material foundation on which to carry out technical reform in agriculture, thus greatly raising the agricultural productivity and pushing the agricultural production continuously into depth and breadth. Some comrades hold that hsien, communes and production brigades need only look after agriculture. If they really attach importance to agriculture, and want to achieve agricultural development early, they must, as local conditions permit, gradually undertake industries to be run by hsien, communes and brigades, which serve agriculture directly.

Chaotung hsien of Heilungkiang province is a good example. In pre-cultural revolution days, the foundation of industries of this county was very poor. Local industries could produce only hoes, sickles and plows, but no agricultural machines, while farm drugs and fertilizers had to be supplied by other places, which greatly restricted the development of farm production. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, the county firmly implemented Chairman Mao's great guideline of "taking agriculture as the foundation and industries as the leading factor" and "relying on one's own efforts for rejuvenation" and "waging bitter struggles", conducted the mass movement in a big way, rapidly developed local industries and basically instituted a "small but complete" system serving agriculture. Now it can produce medium-sized and small agricultural machines, non-field work machines, farm drugs and chemical fertilizers, electric machines, electric wires, large compressors and large precision lathes. Local industries are playing an ever more important role in promoting the development of agricultural production.

Some consider that "overall planning and strengthening of the leadership means restriction, discouragement, and harassing the mass enthusiasm." This, in fact, is tail-ism which negates the Party's leadership by encouraging the masses to do what they like and setting the strenghthening of the leadership against the free mobilization of the masses.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "If there is only the enthusiasm of the broad masses but no competent leadership backbone to properly organize the enthusiasm of the masses, such enthusiasm cannot last long, nor can it be directed to the correct orientation and raised to a high level." ("Several Questions Concerning the Method of Leadership") In industries run by hsien, communes and brigades, like in other things, the leadership must be geared with the masses. The usually high rising enthusiasm of the broad masses is invaluable. Our responsibility is to follow our great leader Chairman Mao's teaching--"the leadership must walk ahead of the movement, not behind it," give the masses vigorous support, firmly protect their enthusiasm, properly organize it, and direct it to the correct channel through Chairman Mao's guidelines and policies. To effect overall planning and strengthen the leadership so that the masses may see the whole picture, see the future, overcome blindness, increase their self-consciousness and more zealously develop the hsien, commune and brigade run industries--such is not what you call "restrictions" and "discouragement" at all but is to arouse the masses' zeal in a better way. If the mass

movement is left alone, it would lose its direction, which would lead local industries to a state of anarchism, bring losses to socialist construction and eventually dampen the masses' enthusiasm. "Let the masses do what they like." Ostensibly, this looks like giving the masses a free hand but actually it means giving up leadership, laissez faire, and negating the mass movement.

In Hailin hsien, Heilungkiang province, at the early stage of the development of local industries, the masses' enthusiasm was very high. It was planned to run 211 factories as the first group, but when 45 factories were set up it was discovered that too many processing factories had appeared and too few factories using raw materials; too many industries devoted to livelihood services and too few serving agriculture; of the industries serving agricultural production, too many factories make small wooden farm tools and old-fashioned farm tools, while too few make large and medium-sized farm machines. Those that should be set up have not been set up. Those that have already been set up could not be fully operated and developed, due to lack of raw materials which are also needed by the State and by factories which had long been established.

In the context of this situation, the hsien revolutionary committee came forward to integrate the leadership with the masses and, as required by local resources, processing capacity, technical force and urgency of social needs, decides on the order of priority, such as which industries should be run and which should not, which should receive the green light and which should be postponed, which should be run locally and which should be run by the upper level, which should be run centrally and which should be run individually, which should be made the keypoint and which should be developed as may become necessary. Active efforts were made at overall planning. Some industries which should not be run and for which conditions are not ripe were deleted from the list, and some basic industries urgently needed and for which conditions are ripe, some raw material industries, and industries serving agriculture were added to it.

In so doing, the masses' enthusiasm to run industries was further aroused, and the industries became consolidated as soon as they were developed; in addition, they were further expanded as soon as they became consolidated. The result: in several months' time more than five hundred factories were established in this county, and the types of products rose from 64 to more than 200, the foundation of local industries was further consolidated and the industries marched forward in firm strides.

Needless to say, it must be realized that there are leading comrades in certain places, who do not take active steps to solve contradictions emerging from the development of local industries and to enable the backward to catch up with the advanced. Instead, they adopt the passive method of balancing by calling the advanced to a halt. This way of doing things is against Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Our great leader Chairman Mao, in his great work "On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation," teaches us: "We should actively, zealously and plannedly lead this movement but not pull it backward by various methods." We make overall planning and

strengthen the leadership just for the purpose of pushing our work forward and developing it. That is to say, we should constantly solve the contradictions between balance and unbalance we find in developing the local industries, so certain weak links may rapidly catch up, a new balance may be reached, and the local industries may take further strides on a new foundation.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: "Of all things in the world man is most valuable. With man any miracle can happen under the leadership of the Communist Party." ("The Bankruptcy of the Idealist Concept of History") We may meet difficulty in this respect in developing local industries. But, if we arm the minds of the broad masses of the people with the invincible Mao Tsetung thought, and fully bring into play man's active consciousness, then we can turn unfavorable conditions into favorable conditions and achieve excellent records even under extremely difficult conditions. Shuangch'eng hsien, Heilungkiang province, is situated on the plains, with no good conditions where natural resources are concerned, but in developing its local industries it fully brings forth the activism and creativeness of the broad masses to unearth capital funds and the potentials of equipment, make use of farm by-products, old and waste materials, obtain materials locally, manufacture things locally and sell them locally, thus making it possible for local industries to take large strides. Since the turn of the year there have been established in the hsien 532 factories, workshops and production teams, an increase of 90 percent, 168 teams of new techniques, new handicrafts and new equipment have been successfully reformed, and 106 kinds of new products trial-manufactured. The total production value showed an increase of 37 percent over the corresponding period of last year. Each of the 20 rural communes in the hsien has its own industries and 96 percent of the production brigades have run small factories of their own.

Conversely, in other places which belittle the human factor, passively achieve balance, sit in the room, follow set conditions, figure out things, "figure out machines, figure out materials, and figure out nothing eventually," the result is that they fail to avail themselves of good conditions and accomplish nothing.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "Overall planning and strengthening of the leadership--such is our guideline." ("On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation") The key to the development of industries run by hsien, communes and production brigades lies in the strengthening of the leadership. In the current rapidly expanding mass movement of hsien, communes and production brigades running industries, the leadership at all levels should walk before the movement, freely set the masses in motion, step up investigations and research, grasp the objective laws, make overall planning well, reach a comprehensive balance, and prod on the local industries triumphantly along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

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Thoroughly Criticize Liu Shao-ch'i's Bourgeois Idealism and Metaphysics

by

Revolutionary Mass Criticism Writing Group, Peking Municipality

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The Communique of the Second Plenary Session of the 9th Party Central Committee, over which our great leader Chairman Mao presided, points out: "The entire Party must seriously study Chairman Mao's philosophical works, promote dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and oppose idealism and metaphysics."

The Communique also states: It is necessary to continue to "develop in depth the revolutionary mass criticism so as to eliminate the remnant pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line."

With a view to opposing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat so as to restore capitalism, the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i had for several decades trumpeted a whole set of bourgeois idealist and metaphysical theories in his counter-revolutionary revisionist speeches and writings, particularly in his sinister book Cultivation. He did his best to use idealistic "cultivation" to negate the revolutionary practice guided by Mao Tsetung thought. He used the mystic "taking root and experience exchange" to oppose scientific investigation and studies and the mass line consistently upheld by Chairman Mao. He used the mechanical theory of bourgeois metaphysics to obliterate the guiding role of the revolutionary theory to the revolutionary practice and to oppose Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought.

There will be no construction without destruction. It is impossible to develop materialism without criticizing idealism, nor is it possible to develop materialist dialectics without criticizing metaphysics. We must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's philosophical thinking, vigorously propagate dialectical materialism and historical materialism, thoroughly criticize bourgeois idealism and metaphysics as the basis of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and struggle to further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

I

In his article "On Practice," Chairman Mao criticizes from the outset the mistaken viewpoints which separate knowledge from practice. He points out: "Materialism before Marx departed from man's social character and man's historical development in studying problems of knowledge; hence, it failed to know the dependence of knowledge on social practice, namely, the dependence of knowledge on production and class struggles." And having

analyzed the historical process in which man's knowledge developed from the lower to the higher level, he points out further: "The dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge raises practice to the first position; it holds that man's knowledge must not depart from practice in the slightest degree and rejects all erroneous theories which deny the importance of practice and separate knowledge from practice." Summing up, Chairman Mao says: "The viewpoint of practice is the first and basic viewpoint of the dialectic-materialist theory of knowledge." Dialectical materialism puts emphasis on the dependence of knowledge on practice, holding that knowledge takes practice as its basis and in turn serves practice.

In his sinister book Cultivation, a representative piece of betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Liu Shao-ch'i completely opposed the Marxist theory of knowledge by propagating the idealism of the landlords and the bourgeoisie. From beginning to end, the sinister book Cultivation regarded "cultivation" as the main theme and core, and put it in the first position in every respect. Advocating the need to adopt his method of "cultivation," Liu Shao-ch'i said: "In transforming and improving himself, the revolutionary must of course not depart from his own revolutionary practice, on the one hand. But on the other hand, he must not depart from his own subjective effort" and "cultivation." (Cultivation, 1949 edition,p.5)

Here, like the old revisionist Bukharin, Liu Shao-ch'i used the eclectic method of "on the one hand, but on the other hand" to equate the idealist "cultivation" with revolutionary practice for the purpose of obliterating the decisive function of revolutionary practice.

The combat mission entrusted by history to the proletariat and the revolutionary people is this: To transform the objective world as well as their own subjective world. The transformation of the subjective world is related to that of the objective world. This is a "process of practice for the transformation of the world determined on the basis of scientific knowledge." ("On Practice") Without revolutionary practice, it is impossible to have correct knowledge or to speak of transformation of the subjective world. To uphold the decisive role of practice in knowledge and to uphold the dialectical unity of the subjective and the objective--this is a viewpoint of proletariat. It is a world outlook which is diametrically opposed to the world outlook of Liu Shao-ch'i who negated revolutionary practice and propagated "cultivation" for landlords and the bourgeoisie.

Liu Shao-ch'i spoke volubly about "cultivation," namely, "living alone," "adapting oneself to the environment," "acting carefully when alone," "reflecting on oneself three times a day," (Cultivation, 1949 edition, pp. 24, 45 and 19) etc. All this he described as "ideological cultivation." (Ibid, p. 28) It was nothing but the ideology of the landlords and bourgeoisie--the junk of the "Confucian and Mencian doctrines."

Reactionary ruling classes of successive dynasties used this "cultivation" as a spiritual pillar for safeguarding their counter-revolutionary dictatorship and a spiritual shackle with which to enslave the laboring people. This was a vain attempt to make the laboring people

"place themselves" forever in a slave position--being exploited and oppressed and "adapting" to the needs of the reactionary ruling classes. Liu Shao-ch'i picked up this junk and flaunted it.

Lenin bitterly denounced the revisionists of the Second International for filling the role of "priest" who gave blessings to the reactionary ruling classes and corrupted the proletariat and the broad masses of the laboring people, "so as to cause them to give up their revolutionary action, dilute their revolutionary zeal and undermine their revolutionary determination." (Collected Works of Lenin, Chinese ed., Vol. 21, p. 208)

In his Cultivation, Liu Shao-ch'i viciously disparaged and attacked revolutionary practice. By sophistry, he said: Some one participated in revolutionary practice, but "revolutionary practice, instead of influencing him to go forward, has caused him to go backward," and caused him "to waver in the course of struggle." (Cultivation, 1949 ed., p. 5)

It seems as if revolutionary practice has turned into a harmful thing. This is counter-revolutionary talk, pure and simple. In revolutionary practice and in the course of class struggle, some go backward, some waver, some rebel and turn into "Left" or right opportunists, and this is because their bourgeois world outlook has not been transformed and their class character comes into conflict with the revolutionary practice of the proletariat and the masses of the people. In "Practice," Chairman Mao profoundly criticizes the diehards, namely, the Right opportunists, in the revolutionary ranks, whose ideology falls behind the reality. He points out the attributes of these people as follows: "Their thinking departs from social practice," "these people fail to see that the struggle of contradictions has pushed the objective process forward and yet their knowledge still remains at the old stage." Chairman Mao also profoundly criticizes the "Left" opportunists whose thinking goes beyond the objective process, pointing out that their attributes are that "their thinking departs from the current practice of the majority of people and from the current realities" and "their thinking goes beyond a definite stage of development of the objective process."

Here Chairman Mao explicitly points out that the "Left" or Right opportunists have both gone contrary to, and departed from, the revolutionary practice of the masses of the people, instead of participating in revolutionary practice. This scientific analysis of Chairman Mao's thoroughly exposes Liu Shao-ch'i's sophistry, and amply shows the utter importance of participating in revolutionary practice and transforming oneself in the course of struggle. If a person does not sincerely participate in revolutionary practice, identify himself with the struggle of the masses, and strive to transform his world outlook and thoroughly change his non-proletarian stand, then, he will fall behind, waver, and even take the road opposite to the revolution eventually to be spurned by the people.

Liu Shao-ch'i blatantly slandered the demand of those who wanted to be trained "in practical work" as clinging to a "mechanical theory."

Instead he contended that one might "train and cultivate himself" at "any time and any place and on any question." (Cultivation, 1949 edi., p. 24) In the view of this traitor, Liu Shao-ch'i, revolutionary practice is useless, and "cultivation" is everything. His aim was to induce people to carry out "cultivation" at "any time and any place" according to the bourgeois world outlook, and to oppose people's participation in the revolutionary practice of the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

In his sinister book Cultivation, Liu Shao-ch'i also occasionally discussed in an abstract manner "revolutionary practice" and "class struggle," and even spoke of "opposition to all kinds of dark and backward influences and things in society." However, he evaded these questions: What era was this? Which class engaged in "practice"? Which class "struggled" against which class? What were the "dark influences" at the time? During the period of the War of Resistance against Japan, the revolutionary practice and class struggle were aimed at overthrowing Japanese imperialism and its running dogs. In the period of the new-democratic revolution, the revolutionary practice and class struggle were aimed at overthrowing the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. Yet, not only did Liu Shao-ch'i refrain from talking about these; on the contrary, he frantically opposed the people's army and people's war and opposed seizure of political power by force of arms. In the period of socialist revolution, the revolutionary practice and class struggle are aimed at consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism. However, instead of discussing these, Liu Shao-ch'i vainly attempted to eliminate the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, frantically opposed the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat on the bourgeoisie, and plotted to have capitalism restored. He was completely silent on the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship; instead, he discussed in abstract terms "revolutionary practice" and "class struggle." This is a tactic habitually used by all revisionists to cover imperialism, the landlords and the bourgeoisie in their attack against the proletariat.

Our great leader Chairman Mao conducted a persistent struggle against Liu Shao-ch'i's criminal activities of opposing revolutionary practice and propagating idealistic "cultivation." Not long after the sinister Cultivation was republished in 1962, Chairman Mao in May 1963 wrote a well-known article "Where Do Man's Correct Ideas Come From?" In it, he criticized Liu Shao-ch'i and company's idealist and metaphysical viewpoints which cut off the dialectical relationship between practice and knowledge. In 1963, commenting on "The Seven Good Reports on Cadres' Participation in Labor in Chekiang," Chairman Mao again pointed out: "Class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements for building a strong socialist country; they are a genuine guarantee that Communists are free from bureaucratism, revisionism and doctrinairism and are always invincible; they are reliable assurance that the proletariat can unite with the broad laboring masses to practice democratic dictatorship." This important instruction of Chairman Mao's profoundly summed up the historical

experience of the proletarian dictatorship and closely integrated the basic viewpoint of the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge with the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and the prevention of capitalist restoration. This is a creative development of dialectical materialism and historical materialism; it is a shining guideline for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Hitting the nail on the head, Chairman Mao's great teachings exposed the aim of the sinister Cultivation as betraying the proletarian dictatorship. This is because opposing revolutionary practice is opposing the revolutionary movement itself, namely, opposing the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In line with Chairman Mao's teachings pertinent to the development of the three great revolutionary movements, the Chinese people, under his leadership, have engaged in the vigorous and great practice of socialist revolution and socialist construction and carried out the great proletarian cultural revolution. By means of this great proletarian cultural revolution, they smashed the criminal conspiracy of Liu Shao-ch'i and company in opposing the three great revolutionary movements and restoring capitalism. They have consolidated the proletarian dictatorship and brought about the rapid development of socialist revolution and socialist construction. This is a victory of Mao Tsetung thought and a great victory of the proletarian dialectical materialism over bourgeois idealism.

II

In his well-known article "Where Do Man's Correct Ideas Come From?" Chairman Mao taught us: "A correct idea has to be accomplished often through the recurrent process from matter to spirit, from spirit to matter, namely, from practice to knowledge and from knowledge to practice. This is the Marxist theory of knowledge, that is, the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge." In opposing revolutionary practice, Liu Shao-ch'i was bound to obliterate the two dynamic revolutionary leaps from practice to knowledge and from knowledge to practice.

In discussing the first leap in the entire process of understanding, Chairman Mao pointed out that men's social practice began with perceptual knowledge. "When more material about such perceptual knowledge has been accumulated, there will be a flying leap and the perceptual knowledge will turn into rational knowledge--an idea." ("Where Do Men's Correct Ideas Come From?") The process of forming a correct idea is the process of "coming from the masses," that is, the process of investigation and research. For decades Chairman Mao has constantly called on the entire Party to promote the style of investigation and research, pointing out that "he who does not investigate has no right to speak." He emphasized the application by the whole Party of the basic principle of the Marxist theory of knowledge in solving all practical problems in work.

Liu Shao-ch'i had all along opposed this Marxist scientific approach of investigating and studying social conditions as advocated by

Chairman Mao. In 1964, at a time when the socialist education movement was developing with momentum, he came out and launched an open attack on the approach of investigation and research as being "out-dated" and "unworkable." He suggested the use of his revisionist stuff of "taking root and experience exchange" as a substitute for the scientific approach of investigation and research based on class analysis as advocated by Chairman Mao. He wildly claimed that he who did not carry out his line "is not qualified to be a leader." His counter-revolutionary fever reached its peak! Such wild attack on our great leader Chairman Mao and on the Marxist theory of knowledge was a big exposure of Liu Shao-ch'i's wolfish ambition to restore capitalism, as well as a big exposure of the reactionary nature of his bourgeois idealism.

The dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge is the theoretical basis for the scientific approach of investigation and research, while the scientific approach of investigation and research is the concrete application and development of the dialectical-materialist theory of knolwedge. For this reason, whether we need to carry out investigation and research is definitely not a simple question of methods of work, but a big question of struggle between the Marxist theory of knowledge and the bourgeois idealist theory of knowledge as well as a big question of struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line.

Marxist materialism tells us: Man's correct ideas, opinions, plans, and methods are the correct reflection of the objective world, with the raw material or semi-finished products coming only from practice. The brain of a man can only be compared with a processing plant in the manufacture of finished products. Therefore, only by personal participation in the revolutionary practice aimed at changing the world can we correctly understand and transform the world. In "On Practice," Chairman Mao points out with depth: "Whoever wants to know a thing has no way of doing so except by coming into contact with it, that is, by living (practicing) in its environment. In feudal society it was impossible to know the laws of capitalist society in advance because capitalism had not yet emerged, the relevant practice was lacking. Marxism could be the product only of capitalist society. Marx, in the era of laissez-faire capitalism, could not concretely know certain laws peculiar to the era of imperialism beforehand, because imperialism, the last stage of capitalism, had not yet emerged and the relevant practice was lacking; only Lenin and Stalin could undertake this task. Leaving aside their genius, the reason why Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin could work out their theories was mainly that they personally took part in the practice of the class struggle and the scientific experimentation of their time; lacking this condition, no genius could have succeeded."

Since man's correct ideas do not drop from the sky nor are inherent in his brain, they can come only from the practice of the three great revolutionary movements. This is a basic principle of the Marxist theory of knowledge elaborated upon by Chairman Mao time and again. In opposing investigation and research, Liu Shao-ch'i also denied that man's correct

ideas must come from social practice. He contended that people might obtain correct knowledge of things without participating in social practice; this was a typical case of bourgeois idealism.

Practice has always been social practice--the practice of the masses. The masses, first of all the basic masses of the workers and peasants, are the mainstay of practice, that is, the mainstay of knowing the world. The struggle and life of the masses is the sole source of all genuine knowledge. "The masses are the real heroes, while we are often childish and absurd. Without knowing this, we cannot obtain the minimum knowledge." For this reason, it is only when we show full enthusiasm and humility--putting down airs and willing to be pupils--in plunging into the practice of the masses to learn from them and carry out deep investigation that we can obtain perceptual materials which are extremely rich (not fragmentary and incomplete) and are compatible with realities (not misconceived). And it is also only when we use Mao Tsetung thought as the guideline, carry out deep investigations and, on this basis, undergo a process of "discarding the dross and selecting the essence eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside," namely, a process of research, that we can obtain the knowledge of the law of the objective world as the guide to our action. Investigation and research is the basic link in obtaining correct knowledge; without it, it is impossible to correctly achieve the dynamic leap from matter to spirit and from practice to knowledge. This is the evergreen, universal truth of the Marxist theory of knowledge; it will never become out-dated. In opposing investigation and research, Liu Shao-ch'i aimed at cutting the ties between the subjective and the objective, between knowledge and practice, and put up the roadblock to the pursuit of the objective truth. This was a complete betrayal of the Marxist theory of knowledge and a complete betrayal of the Party's mass line.

Proceeding from the bourgeois idealism which is opposed to revolutionary practice, Liu Shao-ch'i adopted a completely hostile attitude toward the broad masses of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and basic-level cadres participating in the three revolutionary movements. He slandered the broad masses as "not telling the truth" and as "failing to tell the true facts," ("Report on Questions of Socialist Education and Questions of Two Kinds of Labor System and Two Kinds of Education System," August 1964) and therefore it was not necessary to believe in and rely on them. He believed in and relied upon only a small handful of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionary elements, wicked people, Rightists and the Party capitalist roaders and all ghosts and monsters who met his needs for restoration of capitalism. In the course of the socialist education movement, his set of methods of "taking root and experience exchange" which went against the Party's mass line and promoted mysticism were designed to ignore the broad masses of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and basic-level cadres and subjectively designate a few "roots," round up the social scums, and organize the counter-revolutionary forces to serve his effort to undermine the proletarian dictatorship and restore capitalism. Liu Shao-ch'i turned the spearhead of the struggle against the broad masses of basic-level cadres, workers and poor and lower-middle peasants, but he harbored, protected and

vigorously fostered the capitalist roaders and a small handful of counter-revolutionaries. This constituted his bourgeois reactionary line which was "Left" in form but Right in substance. This line took as its theoretical foundation the bourgeois idealism which is opposed to revolutionary practice and to the broad masses of the revolutionary people, the mainstay of practice.

Under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao and the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party, the broad masses of people have undergone protracted periods of revolutionary struggle. They have infinite love for and infinite faith in Chairman Mao and the Party. Liu Shao-ch'i could of course never accomplish his vain attempt to instigate the masses of the people to follow him in opposing the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. When he said nonsensically that the masses "do not tell the truth" and "do not tell the true facts," it reflected precisely his desperate groans as a deadly enemy of the revolutionary people. From opposing revolutionary practice to opposing the masses of the people and finally being buried completely by the revolutionary struggle of the masses--such was the ignominious end of this renegade, hidden traitor and scab, Liu Shao-ch'i.

III

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "The active function of knowledge manifests itself not only in the active leap from perceptual to rational knowledge, but--and this is more important--it must manifest itself in the leap from rational knowledge to revolutionary practice." ("On Practice") Knowing the world is in order to change it. The purpose of knowing lies with practice. Whether the rational knowledge is correct or not has to be tested in practice and the rational knowledge has to be continuously deepened and developed in practice. Therefore, this second leap is more significant than the first leap.

On the question of the source of knowledge, the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i obliterated the decisive function of practice, denied the changing of matter into spirit, and flaunted bourgeois idealism. And on the question of the reaction of knowledge, he also obliterated the huge power of revolutionary theory, denied the changing of spirit into matter, and flaunted the bourgeois mechanical theory. Liu Shao-ch'i and company advocated the "theory that productivity is everything" and denied the substantial effects of the change of the relations of production and the superstructure on the liberation and development of the social productive forces. They advocated "profits in command," "material incentives," and "technology first," negated the fact that politics is the concentrated expression of economics, opposed bringing proletarian politics to the fore, opposed relying on the enthusiasm of the broad masses of the people, etc., etc. All this was an expression of the bourgeois mechanical theory. Yang Hsien-chen (楊 獻 珍), Liu Shao-ch'i's errand boy in the field of theory, had even more openly denied the identity of thinking and being, and slandered as "idealistic" the great truth of matter turning into spirit and vice versa.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Marxist philosophy believes that a very important problem lies not in knowing the law of the objective world and hence explaining the world, but in using the knowledge of the objective law to transform the world actively." ("On Practice") Dialectical materialism believes that while acknowledging the primacy of matter and the secondary importance of ideology, it is necessary to recognize the active counter-function of ideology. In the course of practice, people, on the basis of objective realities, conceive the ideas, reasons and opinions and draw up plans, policies and guidelines, and bring them into practice to transform the world actively. Only such is the thoroughgoing dialectical-materialist viewpoint. Liu Shao-ch'i denied the leap of spirit turning into matter and looked upon man as the slave of the objective world. Proceeding from such a bourgeois metaphysical viewpoint, one is bound ultimately to be blind completely to and deny the objective world full of the dialectical motion of "matter turning into spirit and spirit turning into matter," and fall on his knees before bourgeois idealism. Liu Shao-ch'i, Yang Hsien-chen and their like slandered as "idealistic" the great truth of matter turning into spirit and spirit turning into matter. And it was precisely on this question that they completely revealed their reactionary faces of bourgeois idealism.

It must be pointed out that Liu Shao-ch'i and company, by desperately propagating the bourgeois mechanical theory, aimed at opposing the great guiding role of the invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought to revolutionary practice. They opposed the mastery by the revolutionary people of this sharp weapon--Mao Tsetung thought--to transform the objective and subjective worlds.

Liu Shao-ch'i brazenly denied the universal truth that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought is the guide for the revolutionary struggles of the Chinese and world's proletariat. Singing the same tune as imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries, he said nonsensically that "it takes a period of study to know whether Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought is 'right' or 'wrong.'" (Speech at a conference of the CPPCC National Conference, Nov. 1951.) He did his best to oppose the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers mastering Mao Tsetung thought and smear the movement for the creative study and application of Mao Tsetung thought. However, with Mao Tsetung thought deep in the minds of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world, the several howls of Liu Shao-ch'i could not do the slightest harm to the brilliance of Mao Tsetung thought.

The "Constitution of the Communist Party of China" adopted at the 9th Party Congress points out: "For half a century in leading China to accomplish the great struggle of the new democratic revolution, in leading the great struggle of socialist revolution and socialist construction in China, and in the great struggle of the contemporary international communist movement against imperialism, modern revisionism, and reactionaries of all countries, Comrade Mao Tsetung has integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution, inherited defended and developed Marxism-Leninism and raised it to a new stage."

The practice of the struggle of the Chinese people and the revolutionary

people of the world fully shows that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought is a guiding light for the proletariat and the laboring people in overthrowing all exploiting classes and systems of exploitation and in winning the revolution. It is the universal truth applicable everywhere in the world. It was by relying on Mao Tsetung thought that the Chinese proletariat and broad masses of revolutionary people overthrew the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism and seized power; it is by relying on Mao Tsetung thought that they are continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to prevent capitalist restoration; and it is also by following Mao Tsetung thought that they are changing their mother country's outlook of blankness and poverty and building it into a prosperous and strong socialist country. Mao Tsetung thought is the root of the life of the revolutionary people, a mighty ideological weapon with which to defeat all class enemies and overcome all difficulties on the way forward. In denying that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought is the universal truth of proletarian revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i vainly attempted to prevent the revolutionary people from advancing in triumph along the path charted by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought. We must carry on with the mass movement for the creative study and application of Mao Tsetung thought in depth and in a sustained manner, and have it closely integrated with the practice of the three great revolutionary movements, so that more and more people will consciously transform the objective world and their own subjective world according to the proletarian world outlook.

While opposing the masses of the revolutionary people's studying the great Mao Tsetung thought, Liu Shao-ch'i energetically advocated "learning from all who have truth." (Quoted from a letter of Sept. 30,1964) Truth has a class character, and the proletarian truth is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought. Since Liu Shao-ch'i denied that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought is a universal truth, his so-called "truth" could only be a bourgeois thing. When talking about this, did Liu Shao-ch'i not boast of the notorious "T'aoyuan experience" which he and his wife Wang X-x cooked up, asking "Party committees at the hsien and higher levels and all members of the socialist education work teams" to seriously "read it"? What kind of truth did the "T'aoyuan experience" contain? It was a representative piece of Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois reactionary line which was "Left" in form but Right in substance, reflecting in a concentrated manner the criminal purpose of the landlords and the bourgeoisie in vainly attempting to strangle the socialist education movement, brutally suppressing the poor and lower-middle peasants, and seizing power from the proletariat. Liu Shao-ch'i asked people to study such a "truth" with the vain hope of using his counter-revolutionary revisionist line to oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, transforming the world according to his bourgeois world outlook, and bringing about the bourgeois dictatorship on the proletariat.

In "On Practice," Chairman Mao points out: "Idealism and mechanical materialism, opportunism and adventurism, are all characterized by the breach between the subjective and the objective, by the separation of knowledge from practice. The Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge, characterized as it is by scientific social practice, cannot but resolutely oppose these wrong ideologies." "Our conclusion is the concrete, historical

unity of the subjective and the objective, of theory and practice, of knowing and doing, and we are opposed to all erroneous ideologies, whether 'Left' or Right, which depart from concrete history." This profound Marxist-Leninist analysis made by Chairman Mao reveals the source of the theory of knowledge of the "Left" or Right opportunist line, and shows the close relationship between the antagonism between two kinds of world outlook and the struggle between the two lines. While eradicating the pernicious influence of Liu Shao ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, we must thoroughly criticize his bourgeois idealism and metaphysics. We must continue to carry out in depth the mass movement for the creative study and application of Mao Tsetung thought and continue to advance on the broad path of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat!

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The Literature on National Defense Is the Literature of National Betrayal

- Exposing the reactionary nature of Chou Yang's "Literature on National Defense"

by

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The communique of the 2nd Plenary Session of the 9th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China points out that it is imperative to "deepen revolutionary mass criticism and eliminate the remnant pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line." To continue to criticize the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art pushed by renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's agents in the literary and art circles--the "four men", namely, Chou Yang, Hsiao Yen, T'ien Han, and Yang Han-sheng--and other counter-revolutionaries is one of the important militant tasks.

Literature and art are an important position of class struggle. For several decades the struggle between the Chinese people led by great leader Chairman Mao and imperialism and its running dogs and the struggle within the Party between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the Right and "Left" opportunist lines were sharply reflected each time in the literary and art circles. In the 30's the controversy between Lu Hsun, chief general in China's cultural revolution and the group of the renegade and special agent Chou Yang over the slogans "Mass literature on national revolutionary war" and "literature on national defense" was a sharp reflection of the struggle between the two classes and the two lines in cultural circles at the critical moment of life and death of the Chinese nation.

Chou Yang blew trumpets for the "literature on national defense," saying that it represented the "proletarian line" (1) and was the "literature on defense of the fatherland" reflecting the demand of the majority of people at the time." (2) Let's take Mao Tsetung thought as the weapon with which to tear off the mask of the "literature on national defense" and see what line it followed, what stuff it peddled, and the song of which class it sang.

The "Literature on National Defense" Is a Product of Class Capitulationism and National Capitulationism

In the middle of the 30's, just as Chairman Mao pointed out, "the present situation is one in which a new high tide in the national revolution is imminent and in which China is on the eve of a great new nation-wide revolution: this is one of the characteristics of the present revolutionary

situation." ("On Tactics against Japanese Imperialism") After the North China incident in 1935 Japanese imperialism stretched its tentacles of aggression to the territory of whole China. The Chinese people were awakening and rising to put up resistance. Under the leadership of great supreme commander Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party the anti-Japanese classes and strata throughout the country formed an anti-Japanese national united front and brought about surging tides of the national liberation movement. The anti-Japanese flame spread to all parts of our motherland.

The Chiang Kai-shek clique redoubled their efforts to push their policy of national betrayal and capitulation, and disseminated their pessimistic view that "the war of resistance will lead to national extinction," stirring up an evil wind of national capitulation. In close coordination with this evil wind, a mental tide of class capitulationism represented by Wang Ming and Liu Shao-ch'i appeared within the Party, fervently advocating abandonment of the proletarian leadership, calling for union with, and not struggle against, the anti-Japanese national united front, and attempting to turn the Communist Party into a petty dependency of the Kuomintang and to make it together with Chiang Kai-shek capitulate to imperialism. In view of this situation, Chairman Mao pointed out definitely in his brilliant work, "On Tactics against Japanese Imperialism": We should "use the united front as a means of organizing and rallying millions of people and all the armies that are potentially friendly to the revolution for the purpose of advancing to strike at the main target, namely, Japanese imperialism and its running dogs, the Chinese traitors." Further, Chairman Mao warned the whole Party not to forget the historical lesson of 1927 when the Right opportunist Ch'en Tu-hsiu sold down the river proletarian leadership, causing the failure of the revolution.

Lu Hsun's slogan, "Literature on national revolutionary war" was based on our Party's policy of forming an anti-Japanese national united front. It adhered to the principal of proletarian party spirit and embodied the Party's united front policy. Against Chou Yang's black flag of "literature on national defense" it planted the militant red flag of the proletariat in the world of literature in which the evil wind was rising in all directions. It represented the correct orientation of the literature movement at the time. Under the signboard of common interests of the whole people Chou Yang's slogan of "literature on national defense" denied the leadership of the proletariat, obliterated the class boundary and advocated class cooperation. It was a product of Chiang Kai-shek's policy of national betrayal and a product of Wang Ming and Liu Shao-ch'i's right opportunist line and was an out-and-out bourgeois slogan.

Here we have records to show. In November 1935 Wang Ming released articles on "The New Situation and the New Policy" (later, these were combined into a pamphlet, "Anti-Japanese and National Salvation Policy"), twisting the Party's united front policy from the right opportunist standpoint. In 1936, the renegade Liu Shao-ch'i dished out articles like "The People's Front of National Liberation," thoroughly elucidating Wang Ming's capitulationist line. At the same time, Chou Yang dished out a series of articles

on "national defense literature," singing the same tune as Wang Ming and Liu Shao-ch'i. In March 1939, the Literary and Art Front magazine of which Chou Yang was the chief editor wantonly glorified and recommended Chiang Kai-shek's "Collection of Speeches on the War of Resistance" (actually it was "Collection of Speeches on National Betrayal"), saying it was an "immortal literature" and a "guide to war of resistance and national construction."

The Chou Yang group said: To sum up the historical experience in the two-line struggle of the literature moment, we should "sort out the blood-vessels," dig the root and find the law." (3) Very well, let's sort out the "blood-vessels" of "the literature on national defense" and dig its "root." Chiang Kai-shek wanted to sell out China to imperialism and turn China into a colony of imperialism; Wang Ming and Liu Shao-ch'i wanted to sell out the proletarian leadership to Chiang Kai-shek and turn the Communist Party into a petty dependency of the Kuomintang. Chou Yang's "literature on national defense" was at the service of Chiang Kai-shek's policy of national betrayal and Wang Ming and Liu Shao-ch'i's capitulationist line. This black line of capitulationism was perfectly clear, wasn't it?

Below let us dissect the Chou Yang group's reactionary works and reactionary theses on "literature on national defense" and we shall have a clearer view of the reactionary substance of the "literature on natural defense."

The "Literature on National Defense" Is Simply Literature of the Chinese Traitors

Chairman Mao points out: "Class capitulationism is actually the reserve force of national capitulationism in the anti-Japanese national revolutionary war; it is a vile tendency that lends support to the camp of the right wing and leads to defeat in the war." ("The Situation and Tasks in the Anti-Japanese War after the Fall of Shanghai and Taiyuan")

The Chiang Kai-shek clique was the general headquarters of capitulationism. Inasmuch as the Chou Yang group followed the steps of Chiang Kai-shek, its "movement of literature on national defense" was bound to fall into the quagmire of national betrayal. The "works on national defense" by the "four men" were iron-clad proof of their crime of national betrayal.

Let us pick out several writings and make a rough analysis and see the stuff they preached!

First, "aggression is justified."

Why does imperialism invade China? We say: it is determined by the predatory nature of imperialism. Yet, all the big and small Chinese traitors from Li Hung-chang and Yuan Shih-k'ai to Chiang Kai-shek said with one voice: No, imperialist aggression was caused by the "disturbance" among the Chinese people. Such are two diametrically opposed conceptions of history.

The reactionary play "Sai Chin Hua," which was praised by Chou Yang for "opening a new field for national defense dramatization" (4), preached this logic of the Chinese traitors. In a letter to its performers, the playwright, Hsia Yen, relentlessly attacked the I-Ho-T'uan movement which held aloft the anti-imperialist banner, as "boxer rebellion," as "an unorganized mob" "knowing no tactics" and "courting the attack of the joint forces of the eight Powers." (5) Through the mouth of Sai Chin Hua the play appealed to the blood-thirsty imperialist aggressors for pity: "The Boxers have all been killed but.....there are still killings in Peking everyday." Upon this remonstration the aggressors laid down their butcher's knives. Thus, Sai Chin Hua, "on behalf of thousands upon thousands of common people in Peking," expressed "thanks" to the imperialist aggressors and said "an honorific arch, the greatest ever built in China, will be erected" for the aggressors. Thus the playwright not only provided a "theoretical basis" for the imperialist aggression but also wanted to erect an honorific arch for the aggressors so as to let the future generations feel "grateful" forever for imperialist aggression. Can anyone, if not a Chinese traitor, write such works and say such despicable words? The "Destiny of China" written by the Chinese traitor Chiang Kai-shek said almost the same thing about the cause of invasion by the eight Powers' joint forces. From the mentality of national betrayal to the words of national betrayal they were exactly the same and were birds of a feather! Hsia Yen also said bluntly: "The main purpose of 'Sai Chin Hua' is to allude, and the character of historical plays making allusions is such as to make the readers (audience) form an 'association of ideas' drawn from history." (6) One word disclosed the divine secret. It turned out that in singing praises of the eight Powers' united army, Hsia Yen rendered service to Japanese imperialism. Who were the "four men"? With their own "words" they stripped themselves of their clothing. They were a batch of slaves who had lost all sense of shame and who prostrated themselves before imperialism, selling themselves for glory and selling the nation for reward! They were Chinese traitors and prostitutes of the Sai Chin Hua type!

"Falsehood written in ink can never cover up the facts written in blood" (Collected Works of Lu Hsun, Vol. III, p. 190) Imperialism is predatory and aggression by nature. If it cannot achieve its predatory aim by "peaceful" means it will achieve it by means of war. For survival the oppressed nations and oppressed people will rise to make a revolution. This is the iron law of class struggle. The modern history of China is one of imperialist aggression on China and Chinese people's resistance to aggression. Since 1840 foreign aggressors had launched one war of aggression after another on China, riding roughshod on the land of China, committing arson, killing and plunder. They owed the Chinese people a towering debt of blood. Imperialist aggression compelled each Chinese to make the choice: either to rise up to resist or to bend his knees and surrender, and there was no alternative.

Great leader Chairman Mao pointed out in his brilliant work, "The Bankruptcy of the Idealist Conception of History" in 1949: "Thus the Western bourgeoisie created two categories of people in the East, a small minority which represents the flunkeys of imperialism, and a majority which is opposed

to imperialism and consists of the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie, and the intellectuals coming from these classes. Those in the majority group are all grave-diggers of imperialism, who were created by imperialism itself, and from whom revolution originates." The road from the T'aip'ing Heavenly Kingdom movement to the New Democratic Revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party was the road traversed by the majority of the Chinese people. The road from Tseng Kuo-fang and Li Hung-chang to Chiang Kai-shek was the road traversed by a handful of national black sheep. The "four men" were representative characters of Chiang Kai-shek's traitorous clique in literary and art circles. They served as apologists of imperialist aggression and sang hymns for its brutality. They did not hesitate to distort history, confound black and white and hold up with both hands works on national betrayal like "Sai Chin Hua" to amuse their foreign masters. They were by no means less vicious and dangerous than the open enemies!

Second, "national betrayal is meritorious."

To do some act of merit for their masters,the slaves will naturally show off their "achievements." Thus, there was no wonder that singing hymns for the traitorous acts of the Chinese traitors was made another "central theme" of the "literature on national defense," i.e., the literature on national betrayal.

To regard national betrayal as meritorious was Chiang Kai-shek's consistent policy. After commencement of the war of resistance, Chiang Kai-shek was wriggling for action in response to each Japanese act of alluring him into surrender, and groups of civilian officials and army generals from Chiang's court fell into Japanese brigands' embrace. The "four men" waved pens and beat drums; thus, dramas, films and music preaching national betrayal were released. It was in 1936 when Japanese imperialism was intensifying its aggression that the above-mentioned reactionary play "Sai Chin Hua" by Hsia Yen was dished out. It praised the Chinese traitor and prostitute, who had lost all sense of shame, as the "goddess of mercy" "rescuing people from sorrow and distress." After the outbreak of the war of resistance in 1937 the renegade Yang Han-sheng dished out a reactionary play, "The Death of Li Hsiu-ch'eng," presenting the shameless renegade as a "loyal and brave hero" and expressing what was on the mind of Chiang Kai-shek! When the Chinese traitor Wang Ching-wei openly surrendered to the enemy in 1938, Chiang Kai-shek became envious of him and got excited. Amidst the nation-wide wave of condemning Wang Ching-wei, Chou Yang, black commander of literary and art circles, came forward against the current and openly wrote articles voicing "grievances" for the Chinese traitor. He beat drums for Chou Tso-jen and his like, traitorous men of letters, saying "they did fight the evil force, manifesting the positive aspect of the Chinese bourgeois democratic idea." (7) It was a naked defense for the Chinese traitors. In 1943, in coordination with Japanese brigands' propaganda of "Sino-Japanese collaboration" and Chiang Kai-shek's clamor for "national salvation along the curved lines," Yang Han-sheng dished out the reactionary play "The Two-Faced Man" praising the capitalist Chu Ming-chai, who secretly colluded with the Japanese brigands, as peasants' "parent providing them with food and

clothing" and as a "buddha giving them peace." Further, he made a guerrilla cadre express "gratitude" to him and ask "his advice" and "help" in his work. Prettifying the Chinese traitors and capitulationists in every possible way and slandering the people's own soldiers viciously--such was the "realistic method of creation" advertised by the Chou Yang group. This was the way the "four men" waved the flag of "literature on national defense" and engaged in the shameless deed of selling out the country and fawning upon the enemy in close coordination with Japanese brigands' policy of alluring them to surrender and with Chiang Kai-shek's capitulationist activities. Lu Hsun hit the nail on the head by pointing out: "The domestic dog knows China better than the foreign dog and is more skilful in playing tricks, too." (Collected Works of Lu Hsun, Vol. X, p. 239) The "four men" were running dogs kept by imperialism in China. Sai Chin-hua, Li Hsiu-ch'eng, Chou Tso-jen, and Chu Ming-chai praised by the "four men" gave a marvelous demonstration of their own despicable features.

"There is in China an imperialist culture which is a reflection of imperialist rule, or partial rule, in the political and economic fields. This culture is fostered not only by the cultural organizations run directly by the imperialists in China but also a number of Chinese who have completely lost their sense of shame." ("On New Democracy") Of this type of Chinese were Chou Tso-jen and his like in Wang Ching-wei's camp, Hu Shih and his like in Chiang Kai-shek's camp, and Chou Yang, Hsia Yen, T'ien Han and Yang Han-sheng, who wormed their way into the revolutionary cultural camp, and other counter-revolutionaries.

Third, "revolution is a crime."

In the 30's Chiang Kai-shek adopted a counter-revolutionary slogan called "Pacify the country before driving out the foreign invaders." This slogan means opposing the Communists before selling out the country. The "four men" comprehended what this slogan implied, and took anti-communism as another "central theme" of the "literature on national defense." The "literature on national defense" preached nothing but the reactionary theses like "revolution is a crime" and "the Communists will sustain defeat." These reactionary themes were nothing different from the stuff produced by Kuo-mintang's rumor-mongering company.

T'ien Han was the first to jump out and do this thing. His anti-communist works were too numerous to mention and the malignance of his words reached the acme. After bandit Chiang unleashed an anti-communist high tide and engineered the P'ingchiang incident, he sang the song "March of Victory" for bandit Chiang's army. Unwilling to fall behind, Hsia Yen and Yang Han-sheng composed and directed black plays and dished out pernicious articles, beating drums for Chiang Kai-shek's anti-communist high tide. The Chou Yang group resorted to even more vicious means. After the outbreak of the war of resistance he wormed his way into the liberated area, hoisted the tattered flag of "exposure literature" and called upon the Trotskyites, anti-Party elements, renegades and spies to "run the greatest risk" and "write boldly," (8) launching attack on the Party and the red political power.

Look, how ferocious the "four men" were in opposing Communism! How intense their hatred of revolution was! They were servile and sycophantic to imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek and were sabrerattling and ferocious before the communists and the people. Such was their clear-cut counter-revolutionary class stand.

Chairman Mao once warned: "Whoever wants to oppose the Communist Party must be prepared to be ground to dust." ("On New Democracy") Since they slandered and attacked the great Communist Party of China in such a frantic manner, the "four men" were bound to be crushed to pieces by the wheel of history!

The "Literature on National Defense" Is Simply Literature of the Kuomintang

From these "works" we may find that a black line of selling out the leadership of the proletariat and faithfully serving the reactionary rule of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie runs through the "theory" of the "literature on national defense."

Several sinister articles published by Chou Yang in 1936 were representative of this capitulationism.

1. Serving the politics of the reactionaries under the signboard of "literature of the whole nation."

The "resolution on the present political situation and the Party's tasks" passed by the conference of the Political Bureau held by the CCP Central Committee at Wayaopao in north Shensi in December 1935 pointed out definitely: "In rousing, uniting and organizing the forces of the people all over China to oppose the public enemy of the Chinese people, the Party should resolutely and unswervingly struggle against all tendencies toward vacillation, compromise, capitulation and rebellion within the anti-Japanese united front. All those who undermine the Chinese people's anti-Japanese movement are Chinese traitors, and all should rise to attack them. The Communist Party should win its leadership of the anti-Japanese front by means of its consistent and correct words and deeds against Japan and the Chinese traitors." Yet, Wang Ming, Liu Shao-ch'i, and Chou Yang sang a tune opposed to the resolution of the Party Central Committee, strongly advocated the "theory of class harmony" and shaped public opinion in favor of liquidating the proletarian leadership of the anti-Japanese united front, betraying the revolution and capitulating to the Kuomintang reactionaries.

Echoing Wang Ming's call, Chou Yang claimed that the "literature on national defense" bore the "character of the whole nation." (9) This was an anti-Marxist bourgeois view.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes, art that is detached from or independent of

Politics." ("Talk at Yenan Forum on Art and Literature") Chou Yang's "literature of the whole nation" was sheer deceitful talk.

In an era in which classes exist, all literature is stamped with a clear-cut class brand. In the 30's, there were proletarian literature serving big landlords and big bourgeoisie and literature of the Chinese traitors serving imperialism but there was no "literature of the whole nation." The "literature of the whole nation" advocated by Chou Yang was nothing but a fig-leaf over the reactionary literature of the Kuomintang. Further, Chou Yang said that "irrespective of the strata to which the writers belong, their thoughts and schools create artistic works on the war of resistance and the national salvation." (10) "Irrespective of the strata to which the writers belong" was false. They consistently excluded and attacked the proletarian writer Lu Hsun, regarding him as an enemy. On the other hand, they fraternized with the Chinese traitors, spies, renegades and Trotskyites. Chou Yang's group said that there was no such question as 'who unites whom' in the movement for the literature on national defense. (11) This claim was even more deceitful! As a matter of fact, all their activities were carried out according to Chou Yang's direction and along Kuomintang's political line. What the Chou Yang group did behind the banner of "literature of the whole nation" was precisely the dirty deed of betraying the revolution.

2. Opposing the cultural and ideological leadership of the proletariat and capitulating to the reactionary culture of the Kuomintang.

Chairman Mao made it clear in his great work "On New Democracy": "The culture of the anti-Japanese united front can only be led by the proletarian cultural thinking, i.e., the communist ideology, and cannot be led by the cultural thinking of any other class."

Following Wang Ming and Liu Shao-ch'i's capitulationist line, Chou Yang's group disallowed cultural circles to publicize Marxism, Leninism or Mao Tsetung thought and allowed only publicizing of Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary absurdities like "the state is supreme" and "the nation is supreme." This laid bare their features as renegades fawning upon and seeking favor from the Kuomintang and selling out the Marxist-Leninist principle. The "literature on national defense" was a white flag opposing the leadership of the proletarian cultural thinking and capitulating to the reactionary culture of the Kuomintang. Chou Yang and his ilk said openly: The proletariat "should not hang up its conspicuous insignia...to cause comrades-in-arms of the other strata to run away for fear." (12) This absurdity was exactly the same as counter-revolutionary demand of the Kuomintang that the Communist Party "put away communism." That they did not permit the hanging up of the proletarian insignia shows they already had the reactionary insignia of the Kuomintang hung on their necks.

To realize the ideological leadership of the proletariat it is imperative to criticize the reactionary ideology and reactionary culture of imperialism and feudalism and criticize the bourgeois world outlook. To give up the right to criticize is to give up the leadership. Chou Yang said: "The creative standard of literature on national defense might as well be

lowered..... Irrespective of their ideology and technical defects, the meaning of the theme should be taken as the basis for giving them a higher evaluation." (13) By "irrespective of the ideological defects" it is meant that the thought the writers use in creative writing, what they eulogize and what they oppose may be ignored. "The subject matter of national defense is everything and the guiding thought can be ignored"--such was Chou Yang's revisionist formula. The so-called "lowering of the creative standard" as advocated by Chou Yang virtually means that the proletariat and the revolutionary people were not allowed to criticize the reactionary culture, and the Kuomintang's reactionary ideology was allowed to occupy the position and suppress the proletarian cultural thinking. This exposed further Chou Yang's reactionary feature as a cultural running dog of the Kuomintang.

To realize the ideological leadership of the proletariat, it is imperative to remold the ranks of writers and artists with the proletarian world outlook. To render service to the Kuomintang reactionaries, Chou Yang went so far as to negate the decisive action of world outlook on creative writing. He said: If the one before me is a talented writer and is faithful to the realities, then, whatever the stratum to which he belongs, and whatever his faith and the degree of his understanding of the true interpretation of the national revolution, he will certainly be able to reflect the important aspects of the revolution in his works." (14) This was a lie. As an ideology the literary and art works are always connected with the stand and world outlook of the writers. The proletariat is the most revolutionary and advanced class in human history; only when one takes the proletarian stand and observes the world with the proletarian world outlook can one write revolutionary works reflecting the demand of history. The big landlords and big bourgeoisie represented by the Kuomintang are the reactionary, decadent and declining classes in history and are classes running counter to the development of history. Observing things from their class stand, one can only confound right and wrong and black and white and cannot possibly be "faithful to realities." Chou Yang advocated this absurdity for the purpose of remolding the ranks of writers with Kuomintang's reactionary ideology so as to turn them into tools of the Kuomintang. This tore off the mask of this "theoretician literature and art" in the person of Chou Yang and vividly exposed the sinister face of the hidden traitor.

Third, advocating the theory that "national defense has extensive subject matters" and singing hymns for the Kuomintang reactionaries.

Who was the maker of history? Who was the main force in the war of resistance against Japan? Over this question, there was a fundamental difference between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and Wang Ming and Liu Shao-ch'i's Right capitulationist line. Reflected in culture it was a question of whom the literature and art should serve and who should occupy the literary and artistic stage. Such was the water-shed between revolutionary literature and art and counter-revolutionary literature and art.

Chairman Mao teaches: "The people, the people alone are the motive forces in the making of history." ("On Coalition Government") The main forces in the war of resistance against Japan were the masses of the people

with the workers and peasants as the main body and were the worker and peasant soldiers led by the Communist Party. They alone could decide the central feature of times and represent the direction of social development. Revolutionary literature and art should sing praises of the workers, peasants and soldiers, inspire them and serve them. Yet, Chou Yang openly declared: "The literature on national defense should enable the readers to obtain a clear-cut concept and prospect of the time from the backward incidents and characters and to grasp the central feature of times." (15) Here, the writers were urged to present those decandent and declining classes and their death-bed activities, to sing praises of the Kuomintang reactionaries and their passive resistance to Japan and active opposition to the Communist Party, and to describe them as the "center of the time." How well this dovetailed the reactionary tune sung by Wang Ming and his like--"The central political and economic strength of resistance against Japan lies in the Kuomintang!" Under the guidance of this reactionary theory, the "four men" brought to the literary and art stage renegades, spies, Kuomintang reactionaries and all the scums of society.

Look, in the reactionary play "Lukouch'iao" [the Marco Polo Bridge], T'ien Han went so far as to present the Kuomintang army as the "flower of the people." In the song "March of Victory" staged over and over again, they shamelessly brought out the portrait of the people's public enemy Chiang Kai-shek, prostrated themselves before the tyrant whose hands were stained with the blood of the people, and chanted "Long life." On the other hand, under their pens the worker and peasant masses were defamed as senseless and apathetic "mobs." Here, history was turned upside down in broad daylight! It was a towering crime againt the Party, the people and the revolution!

The creative practice of the "literature on national defense" gave the best annotation to Chou Yang's theory of "literature on national defense." What was stirred up by the so-called theory that "national defense has extensive subject matters" was the dirty current of counter-revolution. The so-called "theme of national defense" was one serving the Kuomintang and singing praises of the reactionaries. The so-called "literature on national defense" was an out-and-out literature of the Kuomintang.

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In "On New Democracy" and "Talks at Yenan Forum on Art and Literature"--two splendid works published by great leader Chairman Mao in the early 40's, the two-line struggle on the cultural front in the 30's was most comprehensively and systematically summed up, and the revisionist line on literature and art, including the "literature on national defense," represented by the "four men" including Chou Yang was systematically and penetratingly criticized. But, Chou Yang and his like did not give up hope. During the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, they dished out the reactionary program of "literature and art of the whole people," a variant of the "literature on national defense," continued to resist Chairman Mao's proletarian line on literature and art. Taking advantage of the leadership usurped over the literary and art circles, they turned the department of culture into Liu Shao-ch'i's bridgehead for

restoring capitalism. They wantonly peddled the spiritual opiate of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism, corrupted the minds of the masses and launched attack on the Party. They worked in close coordination with the Anti-China plot of imperialism, revisionism and reaction in a vain attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat by means of "peaceful evolution, to enable imperialism and the Kuomintang to stage a comeback and to bring China back to the semi-feudal and semi-colonial road.

The mighty currents of the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by great leader Chairman Mao has smashed the Chou Yang group line on literature and art and seized back the leadership usurped by them. But to stamp out the remnant pernicious influence of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism in the cultural and ideological fields still calls for a protracted struggle. We are determined to carrry on and deepen the struggle to criticize the bourgeoisie and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure including each cultural field. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, model revolutionary theatrical works have appeared in the course of criticizing the old world, putting into effect Chairman Mao's policy of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. And model theatrical works are being energetically popularized. As long as we adhere to Chairman Mao's literary and artistic line, go in the direction of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and persevere in revolutionary mass criticism, we shall certainly be able to win still greater victories in the proletarian revolution in literature and art!

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(1) Speech at an enlarged session of the Party Group for the Chinese Writers' Association (Sept. 16, 1957)
(2) Speech at the conference for discussing "Outline of the History of China's Modern Literature" (Nov., 1962)
(3) Speech by Shao Ch'uan-lin at a forum convened by Wen-i Pao in March 1958 (Wen-i Pao No. 6, 1958)
(4), (9), (10), (13) and (15) "Literature at the Present Stage" (Kuang-Ming Vol. I, No. 2, June 1936)
(5) and (8) "History and Allusion," inaugural issue of Wen-hsueh Chieh, June 1936)
(7) "The Development of New Literature as Seen from the National Liberation Movement" (Wen-i Chan-hsien, Vol. 1, No. 2, March 1939)
(8) "Literature and Random Talk on Life" (Yenan Chieh-fang Jih-pao, July 18 and 19, 1941)
(11) "On Two Slogans" by Chang Keng (Wen-hsueh Chieh, Vol. 1, No. 3, August 1936)
(12) A letter from Hsu Mao-yung to Lu Hsun (quoted from the Collected Works of Lu Hsun, Vol. 6, p. 429)
(14) "Concerning the Literature on National Defense" (Wen-hsueh Chieh inaugural issue, June 1936)

Revolutionary Mass Criticism Must Go On So Long as Class Struggle Exists

- the eight "what-to-do's" in the persistent mass criticism launched by the Shanghai High Compression Cylinder Plant -

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 10, Sept. 19, 1970)

The Communique of the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China points out: "It is imperative to continue to 'carry out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation conscientiously,' deepen revolutionary mass criticism and eliminate the remnant pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line so as to carry to the end the revolution on the political and ideological front, on the cultural and educational front, on the economic front, and in all spheres of the superstructure."

How should the revolutionary mass criticism be carried on persistently? The Shanghai High Compression Cylinder Plant has furnished some rudimentary experience.

Obeying great leader Chairman Mao's teaching that "one of the important tasks on the ideological front at present is to unfold criticism against revisionism," the Party organization of this plant leads the Party members and the masses to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, to conduct revolutionary mass criticism throughout the course of struggle-criticism-transformation, and to criticize more deeply the counter-revolutionary revisionist ideas spread in the plant by renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and his agents. They have criticized the class enemies so sharply that the latter dare not speak and act in an unruly way. They have criticized and discredited the revisionist line acutely. They have criticized the bourgeois things so completely that there leaves no market for them. This promotes the revolutionization of man's thinking and gives an impetus to the rapid increase of production year after year. The worker comrades have said this well: "When the mass criticism has been carried out in depth, we can distinguish the two lines and see the new trend of class struggle clearly. Once we break with selfishness and temper our red hearts, both revolution and production will leap forward."

They have met innumerable problems while persistently carrying out the revolutionary mass criticism. But, their experience shows that: So long as the cadres firmly establish the viewpoint of class struggle, continuously arm the masses with Mao Tsetung thought, trust them, rely on them, give them free reins, and lead them boldly and well, the revolutionary mass criticism can be carried out persistently. Therefore, no matter what problems we meet in the course of the mass criticism, we must first try to find the cause in the thinking of the leaders.

1. What Shall We Do When the Orientation of the Revolutionary Mass Criticism Is Incorrect?

- We should find out who takes the leadership of the revolutionary mass criticism. We must take class struggle as the theme, boldly arouse the masses and put leadership of mass criticism firmly in the hands of the proletariat.

The revolutionary mass criticism is an important weapon of the proletariat in attacking the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes under the conditions of dictatorship of the proletariat. Only when revolutionary mass criticism has been carried out well will it be possible to clear the way for struggle-criticism-transformation and to insure that we shall advance perseveringly and triumphantly along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. It is precisely for this reason that the class enemies always try to deviate the revolutionary mass criticism by all possible means and to usurp the leadership over the revolutionary mass criticism. The Shanghai High Compression Cylinder Plant has learned a lesson and gone through a struggle regarding this problem.

In the second half of 1967, the leadership over the mass criticism in this plant was usurped by some so-called "pen nibs" who had serious political problems. They took advantage of their position to release poison recklessly, to vigorously peddle the bourgeois things, to spread rumor, to advocate the bourgeois factionalism, and to violate Chairman Mao's great strategic plan. When the workers vigorously promoted the revolutionary great alliance, these people spread the fallacies that "revolution should have its order of priority" and "rebellion should be viewed in the time it takes place." When the plant's revolutionary committee was established, they again released poison in the special column [wall posters] of mass criticism. In the face of this abnormal situation, the plant's revolutionary committee relied on the broad revolutionary masses, cleaned up the class ranks and dragged out the bad elements. It recaptured the leadership over the revolutionary mass criticism and reorganized the backbone force of the revolutionary mass criticism. As a result, a new upsurge was whipped up in the revolutionary mass criticism and both the revolution and production took on a new look.

But, class struggle still exists, so revolutionary mass criticism is no plain sailing as it goes on. In September last year, to give aid to the reconstruction of the interior, the revolutionary masses of the No. 1 workshop, obeying Chairman Mao's teaching about "self-reliance," sharply criticized the slavish comprador philosophy and the mentality of trailing behind at a snail's pace, and adopted simple and indigenous methods to build a 1,000-ton hydraulic press. At that moment, a rascal who fostered an ulterior purpose waved the flag of "mass criticism" and set up another special column to oppose the revolutionary masses, in a frenzied attempt to undermine the building of the Party branch. The plant's revolutionary committee persisted in the orientation of the revolutionary mass criticism, led the masses to analyze the new trend of class struggle and eventually dragged out this rascal.

Such struggle has never stopped. However, they grasped the key of class struggle. Whenever this abnormal situation emerged, they made analysis through the class viewpoint and strengthened leadership over the revolutionary mass criticism by carrying out political and ideological work, thereby keeping the leadership over the revolutionary mass criticism in the hands of the proletariat. These interferences in the revolutionary mass criticism did not deviate the main orientation. On the contrary, it brightened the eyes of the masses and increased the masses' abilities to distinguish the right from the wrong. Whenever an evil showed itself, the masses put it down on the spot.

2. What Shall We Do If People Play Fast and Loose in Mass Criticism?

- We should find out whether or not ideologically we will ever take revolutionary mass criticism as vanguard in all work. We must lead the masses to continuously heighten their understanding of the meaning of mass criticism.

For a time, in revolutionary mass criticism people played fast and loose. Some felt it was nothing but "repeating what had been said before." Others said: "We have no time to write." "Let's talk about it again later." As critics decreased in number, the criticism meetings were cancelled. The Party general branch, analyzing this state of affairs, felt this reflected that some cadres did not understand sufficiently the meaning of mass criticism. Accordingly, it first organized the cadres to repeatedly study Vice Chairman Lin's instruction in his political report to the "9th Party Congress": "We must continue to hold high the banner of revolutionary mass criticism and use Mao Tsetung thought to criticize the bourgeoisie, to criticize revisionism and all kinds of Right or extreme 'Left' erroneous ideas which run counter to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and to criticize bourgeois individualism and the theory of 'many centers,' that is, the theory of 'no center.'" This made all realize that slackening of revolutionary mass criticism meant slackening of attack on the class enemies and that we must fight a protracted war strategically and act on the offensive tactically.

With their thinking raised, the cadres led the masses to discuss a special subject: "Should we make criticism only when the leadership tells us to do so, or should we make criticism on our own initiative?" The Party branch of the No. 2 workshop led the masses to discuss this question. After that, they said: "We must make revolution consciously and conduct criticism on our initiative. If one 'makes criticism only when the leadership tells him to do so,' he is not conscious in making revolution."

A worker comrade of the No. 1 squad said: "In the past I always regarded the mass criticism as an extra burden. I wrote articles only when the leadership told me to do so or as I pleased. Now I understand that I must take the initiative in making criticism so the revolution will sustain." Later, he became an activist in the revolutionary mass criticism.

3. What Shall We Do When the Idea of "Near Completion" Emerges Impeding the Deep-Going Development of Mass Criticism?

- We should find out the ideas of arrogance and self-conceit and the pernicious influence of the "theory of dying out of class struggle" among the cadres and Party members. So long as we continue to analyze the new trend of class struggle we shall find criticism never has an end.

After the class ranks had been cleaned up, some cadres and Party members thought that "the enemies had been dragged out, what should be criticized had been criticized and what should be struggled against had been defeated, so that another criticism would be meaningless." After the Party general branch had been established, they also felt that "the six black theories had been criticized so that there was not much left to be criticized." The idea that revolutionary mass criticism "was near completion" often emerged.

Where does this idea of "near completion" come from? One of the causes is that the leadership fosters arrogance and conceit and refuses to find shortcomings amid praises and to make criticism "in depth." The other cause is that it fails to regularly analyze the new trends of class struggle, so that it looks at things by their appearances and finds "there is nothing left to be criticized" and forgets the class struggle amid the beating of gongs and drums and the rumbling of machines. This actually shows that the "theory of dying out of class struggle" had revived. Whenever this situation arises, they first organize the cadres to study Chairman Mao's great teaching, "We have won great victory. But the defeated class still struggles. These people are around and this class still exists." They proceed from the criticism of the idea of "near completion" in the minds of the cadres and the Party members, and go on to overcome the ideas of arrogance and self-conceit and to eliminate the pernicious influence of the "theory of dying out of class struggle." After firmly establishing the concept of class struggle, the cadres often lead the masses to apply the viewpoint of class struggle in observing and analyzing the contradictions in the spheres of politics and ideology. In this way, all feel that it is not true that "there is not much left to be criticized" but that the criticism will never end and so long as class struggle exists the revolutionary mass criticism must be carried on persistently.

4. What Shall We Do If We Fail to Hit the Target?

- We should find out whether or not the cadres and the Party members apply the viewpoint of class struggle in analyzing the evil winds. We must gain the insight into class struggle through different kinds of phenomena, take hold of the bad elements who fan the evil winds and criticize them by linking them with Liu Shao-ch'i.

Last year, a few young workers of our plant wandered about and gossiped during working hours when the machines and equipment were being overhauled. The old workers were exasperated and the cadres worried at seeing

this. They criticized these few young workers in order to check this evil wind. But, they could not check this evil wind. Later, the cadres studied Chairman Mao's teaching, "When we look at a thing, we must examine its essence and treat its appearance merely as an usher at the threshold," and were enlightened. They made an investigation and discovered that whenever a machine had an accident, a reactionary capitalist said to the young workers secretly: "You better go to have fun. It means extra pay when the equipment runs out of order. You may relax." They sharply criticized the anarchical idea spread by this rascal. They hit at the target. The several young workers raised their consciousness and went actively to work.

In summer last year, some people came to the clinic to consult the doctor although they were not ill. The cadres went deep to make an investigation and discovered that a class enemy, taking advantage of the sudden death of somebody in the No. 1 workshop of an acute disease, spread the fallacies that "we have bad luck this year" and "one does not know what may happen to him tomorrow although he lives today." Proceeding from these phenomena, they traced to the root and linked it with Liu Shao-ch'i. They immediately wrote "On 'We Have Bad Luck'" and other articles and relentlessly criticized the "philosophy of survival," immediately checking the evil wind. The broad masses of workers further displayed the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death. The masses said: "This way of criticism hits the target accurately. It unites the comrades, educates the masses and defeats the enemies."

5. What Shall We Do If Our Tasks Are Heavy, the Time Available for Doing These Tasks Is Short and There Is No Time for Conducting Mass Criticism?

- We should find out whether the leaders give prominence to proletarian politics or put work in command ideologically. We must persistently put proletarian politics in command.

During the new upsurge of the movement for increase of production and practice of economy, some people said: "Production is so tense, how can we spare time to conduct mass criticism?" Some cadres also feared that production could not be carried out in time and devoted energies chiefly to production. Obeying Chairman Mao's teaching that politics is the command and the soul, the Party general branch organized the cadres and the Party members to conscientiously discuss the relationship between revolution and production. This made all understand that: Revolutionary mass criticism is the motive force pushing production forward. Therefore, the heavier our tasks are and the shorter the time available for doing our tasks is, the more we should conduct revolutionary mass criticism.

There is a Party member in the No. 4 workshop. He is a production squad leader. Formerly the masses said that he "grasps only the tools, not revolution." Now, he actively leads the masses to carry out mass criticism before and after work shift. During the technical innovation, they criticize the "slavish comprador philosophy" and the "doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace." When having created some achievements, they criticize the

conservative idea that "production has reached its climax and the potentials have been totally exploited." The revolutionary enthusiasm surged and production increased daily in the whole workshop.

The workers of the 1st squad of the No. 2 workshop discovered that the productive work group had not yet lifted the lid of class struggle after a long time. At that moment, production was very tense. Despite their fatigue, they wrote five articles of criticism that night and helped the comrades of the productive work group demolish the "bridge-head" and drag out a rascal who had usurped the leadership over production.

After the No. 6 squad of the No. 1 workshop had criticized the pernicious influence of "technique comes first," it took only one week to repair the oxygen compressor, as against one month and more in the past. The time for replacing a beam in the hydraulic press also dropped to four hours, instead of one day and one night and even two days and two nights in the past.

The worker comrades were deeply impressed, saying: "The mass criticism is a good weapon. It brings a big increase in production. It hits at the enemy and raises efficiency of work."

6. What Shall We Do If Only a Small Number of People Take Part in the Mass Criticism?

- We should find out whether the leaders at various levels have fully aroused the masses. We must exploit all positive factors and make the broad masses take part in the revolutionary mass criticism.

This state of affairs often occurs during the revolutionary mass criticism: Some old workers are illiterate. They cannot write articles of mass criticism. They cannot express themselves in a criticism meeting. Others hold that "it does not matter whether I write it or not since I have learned the matter." Still others seldom take part in mass criticism because they are too busy or because of physical condition. How should we deal with these problems? In line with Chairman Mao's teaching, "The revolutionary war is a war of the masses," the Party general branch works meticulously, fully arouses the masses and calls upon the Party members to act as models in the revolutionary mass criticism. It also trains and organizes a backbone force of mass criticism in the course of struggle, so as to push forward the revolutionary mass criticism.

In the No. 4 workshop, some old workers cannot read and they ask the young workers to write for them. They have contributed a big number of articles of mass criticism.

An old worker of the security room is called by the broad masses a sentinel of class struggle. While staying in the room, he pays constant attention to the trend of class struggle. Once he discovers any activity, he urges others to write articles of mass criticism. Sometimes he asks other people to write down what he says, so as to take part in mass criticism.

Some women comrades are overburdened with household chores and have many children to look after. But they say: "The revolutionary mass criticism is an important thing. Compared with it, our household chore is a trifle." They take an active part in the mass criticism.

The old workers are also aroused.

This teaches the young workers an impressive lesson. They say: "The old workers take such an active part in the mass criticism although they are illiterate. We have much better conditions. We should all the more act as pace-setters in the revolutionary mass criticism." They not only write articles actively, but also make use of the spare time and help the old workers write articles of criticism.

At present, a backbone force of mass criticism has already been formed in the whole plant. There are people taking charge of mass criticism at all levels from the plant to the workers' squad. Each workshop has a mass criticism group. Criticism meetings with the workers' group or squad as the principal force are held regularly. Special posters of mass criticism are put up one issue after another. The intense fire of revolutionary mass criticism is burning in every corner throughout the plant. Once as soon as a bourgeois thing appears, it is dealt a heavy blow by the revolutionary masses.

7. What Shall We Do If the Quality of Criticism Is Not Fine?

- We should find out whether or not the cadres and the Party members arm the masses with Mao Tsetung thought and simultaneously grasp mass study and mass criticism. We must overcome both the simple task viewpoint and formalism.

During the protracted revolutionary mass criticism, we also discovered that some cadres fostered the simple task viewpoint, upheld formalism and paid little attention to the quality of criticism.

The living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought is the most fundamental prerequisite to improving the quality of the revolutionary mass criticism. The Party branch of this plant emphatically combined the revolutionary mass criticism with the mass study and the various branches of work. It aroused the masses to discuss problems and put forward opinions in line with the new trend of class struggle in each period and then to study Chairman Mao's teachings concerned while bearing these problems in mind and to carry out revolutionary mass criticism with Mao Tsetung thought as the weapon.

During the cleaning-up of the class ranks, they collected the evil speeches spread by the bad elements in the plant and treated them by the method of "comparing three things," that is, comparing Chairman Mao's teachings with the poison released by Liu Shao-ch'i and the bourgeois reactionary ideas

spread by the bad elements to serve Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and using Mao Tsetung thought to criticize and eliminate this poison.

During the struggle against waste, they aroused the masses to make a list of the 40 erroneous viewpoints, such as "it does not matter to be a bit wasteful when a big increase in production is made." They organized the masses to study and apply Mao Tsetung thought and carry out mass criticism in line with these viewpoints. In this way, criticism was conducted to an ever greater depth, the quality of criticism improved continuously, and ever greater results were produced.

The overhaul and repair group formerly used 300 kilograms of waste yarn a week. Now the same quantity lasts six months. Formerly it consumed 2,400 kilograms of spindle oil each month, but now only 300 kilograms. This alone saves more than 40,000 yuan a year.

By paying attention to promptly summing up the experience of its advanced groups and squads, establishing typical cases and popularizing and exchanging experience, the plant continuously improved the quality of the mass criticism.

8. What Shall We Do If Some People Think That Mass Criticism Is Empty Word?

- We should find out whether or not the cadres and the Party members have implemented Chairman Mao's style of integrating theory with practice in study. We must integrate revolutionary mass criticism with remolding of world outlook.

If we only talk about some empty principles during the revolutionary mass criticism, we can neither defeat the class enemies nor reach the aim of eliminating pernicious influence and raising consciousness. The Party organization of this plant pays regular attention to preventing this phenomenon. They have learned this from practice: In conducting revolutionary mass criticism, we must continuously attack the bourgeoisie. To launch this attack well, we must not only stifle the reactionary arrogance of the class enemies, but also criticize and discredit the counter-revolutionary revisionist ideas spread by the class enemies. We also must take ourselves into consideration while eliminating the pernicious influence and remolding world outlook. Their slogan is: "We must take the red precious book in our hands, aim at the living target and link it with its evil chieftain, and eradicate revisionism from our minds." Many workers' groups and squads have made it a practice to organize all to hold a discussion and application meeting whenever an issue of articles of mass criticism has been published and a criticism meeting held. They take the course of revolutionary mass criticism as the course of mass self-education and the course of remolding their world outlook.

In a certain workers' squad in this plant, due to the incitation by the class enemies, anarchism prevailed for a time and "the workers vented discontent when meeting hardships, gave up their work when being criticized, spoke aimlessly at a meeting, and acted in their own ways after the meeting, so revolution and production could not be carried out well and the enemies laughed at them in secret." After the class enemies had been dragged out, the comrades who had formerly been influenced relatively deeply by the anarchical ideas took the mass criticism as the classroom for self-education. They consciously fought self and criticized revisionism to the innermost of their being. At a discussion and application meeting, they said meaningfully: "We must carry out revolutionary mass criticism in depth, eradicate revisionism in our minds, break with selfishness, temper our red hearts, and closely follow Chairman Mao to make revolution forever."

- Investigation Group under Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee

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